

The American Historical Review

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CONTENTS

EDITH PHILIPS	Pensylvanie: L'Age d'Or	1
CHARLES ROY KELLER GEORGE WILSON PIERSON	A New Madison Manuscript relating to the Federal Convention, 1787	17
KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD	Economic Ideas and Facts of the Early Period of the Risorgimento	31
R. D. W. CONNOR	The Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth	44
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS—JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, The Battle Abbey Records in the Huntington Library; SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Fields for Research in the Diplomatic History of the United States to 1900		63
DOCUMENTS—Tariff Strategy and Propaganda in the United States, 1887–1888, contributed by A. T. Volwiler		76
REVIEWS OF BOOKS— <i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> , VI.; Kenney, <i>Sources for the Early History of Ireland</i> , I.; Abbott, <i>A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell</i> ; Lefevre, Guyot, and Sagnac, <i>La Révolution Française</i> ; Berdrow, <i>Krupp, as seen through his Letters</i> ; Holcombe, <i>The Chinese Revolution</i> ; Corbin, <i>The Unknown Washington</i> ; Beale, <i>The Critical Year</i>		97
(For a complete list of reviews, see the inside cover pages)		
HISTORICAL NEWS		215

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

	PAGE
<i>Selected Essays of J. B. Bury</i> , by W. S. Ferguson.....	97
O'Neill, <i>Ancient Corinth</i> , Part I., by Harold N. Fowler.....	98
Pais, <i>Histoire Romaine</i> , I., by A. E. R. Boak.....	99
Ciaceri, <i>Cicerone e i suoi Tempi</i> , by W. A. Oldfather.....	100

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Guignebert, <i>A Short History of the French People</i> , by Frank M. Anderson.....	102
<i>Det Danske Folks Historie</i> , IV., V., VI., VIII., by Waldemar Westergaard.....	104
<i>The Cambridge Medieval History</i> , VI., by Dana C. Munro.....	105
Kenney, <i>The Sources for the Early History of Ireland</i> , I., by M. T. H.....	108
Menéndez Pidal, <i>La España del Cid</i> , by D. B. Macdonald.....	110
González Palencia, <i>Los Mozárabes de Toledo</i> , by D. B. Macdonald.....	112
Fawtier, <i>Sainte Catherine de Sienne</i> , II., by Ferdinand Schevill.....	114
Mackinnon, <i>Luther and the Reformation</i> , IV., by Ernest W. Nelson.....	115
Pastor, <i>Geschichte der Päpste</i> , XIV., by George L. Burr.....	117
Cavaignac, <i>Histoire du Monde</i> , XIII., Pts. 3, 4, 5, by Preserved Smith.....	118
Abbott, <i>A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell</i> , by Wallace Notestein.....	120
Picavet, <i>La Diplomatie Française au Temps de Louis XIV.</i> , by Violet Barbour.....	123
Turner, <i>The Cabinet Council of England</i> , by Arthur L. Cross.....	124
Richards, <i>The Early History of Banking in England</i> , by A. P. Usher.....	126
Warner, <i>The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution</i> , by Harris E. Starr.....	127
Lefebvre, Guyot, and Sagnac, <i>La Révolution Française</i> , by Crane Brinton.....	128
Harris, <i>The Assignats</i> , by F. L. Nussbaum.....	131
Dubreuil, <i>Histoire des Insurrections de l'Ouest</i>	132
Kirchheim, ed., <i>Fürstenbriefe an Napoleon I.</i> , by Harold C. Deutsch.....	133
Fugier, <i>Napoléon et l'Espagne</i> , by Stringfellow Barr.....	135
Lacour-Gayet, <i>Talleyrand</i> , II., by Phoebe A. Heath.....	136
<i>Correspondance du Prince Joseph Poniatowski avec la France</i> , III., IV., V., by R. H. Lord.....	138
Driault, <i>L'Expédition de Crête et de Morée, 1823-1828</i> , and Douin, <i>Mohamed Aly et l'Expédition d'Alger</i> , by Sherman Kent.....	139
De Rubris, <i>L'Araldo della Vigilia; Il Cavaliere della prima Passione Nazionale; Confidenze di Massimo d'Azeglio; Vincenzo Salvagnoli nell' Amicizia de Massimo d'Azeglio</i> , by H. Nelson Gay.....	141
Rjazanov, <i>Marx-Engels Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> , by Lewis L. Lorwin.....	143
Berdrow, ed., <i>Krupp, as seen through his Letters</i> , by A. P. Usher.....	145
Brockhaus, <i>Stunden mit Bismarck</i> , by E. Malcolm Carroll.....	147
Townsend, <i>Germany's Colonial Empire</i> , and Leutwein, <i>Afrikanerschicksal</i> , by Mildred S. Wertheimer.....	148
Giffen, <i>Fashoda, the Incident and its Diplomatic Setting</i> , by O. J. Hale.....	150
Gooch and Temperley, <i>British Documents on the Origins of the War</i> , VI., by Sidney B. Fay.....	151
Baernreither, <i>Fragments of a Political Diary</i> , by William L. Langer.....	155
D'Abernnon, <i>Rapallo to Dawes</i> , by Laurence B. Packard.....	157
Emin, <i>Turkey in the World War</i> , by Donald C. Blaisdell.....	158
Coulbeaux, <i>Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abyssinie</i> , by Ralph Marcus.....	160
Grousset, <i>Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient</i> , by Charles S. Gardner.....	161
Philip, <i>L'Inde Moderne</i> , and Hull, <i>India's Political Crisis</i> , by Franklin Edgerton.....	163
Holcombe, <i>The Chinese Revolution</i> , by G. Nye Steiger.....	164

(For Books of American History and Shorter Notices see inside back cover page)

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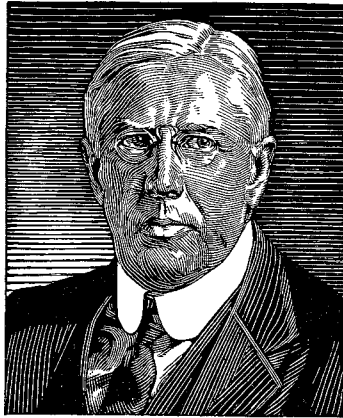
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PENSYLVANIE: L'AGE D'OR

IN *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and the United States at the End of the Eighteenth Century* M. Bernard Faÿ has called attention to the glorification of the Quakers in France during the French Revolution. In a book of such a scope, in which he analyzes the revolutions of two continents and the subsequent relations of two new governments, M. Faÿ could not be expected to give more than passing mention to this curious phenomenon whose development was far earlier than the period to which he limits his book. The enthusiasm for Quakerism which was at its height in the ten years preceding the French Revolution merits more detailed study. Does it not seem strange that the Quakers, determined pacifists as they were, who were accused by their enemies of putting obstacles in the way of the success of the American Revolution, should be regarded by the French, who did not fail to hear these hostile rumors, as the model citizens of a model state? The reading of even so popular a book as Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770) does not explain the exaggerated importance which this small sect acquired in the eyes of the French. It has, too, been a persistent idea, as is indicated by the notice given in the *Intransigeant* on the day of the election of Mr. Hoover, November 8, 1928: "Hoover is a Quaker, descendant of those pioneers who were fundamentally moralists, and who, in fact, were the principal founders of the new continent." The Quakers would certainly not claim even half so much for themselves. With all due allowance for this as a careless generalization of a modern journalist, it does not compare in its exaggeration with the statements made by the journalists of the Revolution. Some phrases from the *Feuille Villageoise* in the years 1791 and 1792 will indicate the type of enthusiasm which was manifested.

The Quakers are distinguished today for their incomparable humanity. The character of their religion is an impartial meditation on the Scrip-

tures . . . the adoration of God without vain images or puerile ceremonies, the ethics of Christ and the cult of Nature. . . . If the universe were to become Quaker we would have no more need of magistrates, soldiers or priests. . . . The Quakers who enjoy to the supreme degree the rights of this precious equality, who reject even the slightest distinctions and who nevertheless are perfectly submissive to the laws, are a living and unanswerable proof that the equality established by the French Constitution, far from being pernicious to men or favoring anarchy, will only assure happiness by founding it on a firm basis of law, order, and social control.

One easily recognizes characteristic phraseology of the French Revolution, but after reading many pages of such enthusiasm in many different gazettes, one wonders what has become of the rest of the United States in the minds of the writers.

The explanation must be sought long before the French Revolution or the American War of Independence, and is partly historical and partly literary. Pennsylvania was one of the few colonies which had published extensive propagandist literature in French for the purpose of attracting colonists. William Penn and his friends, in order to populate the new colony and to establish the reputation for tolerance, actively sought colonists among the Germans of the Rhine valley and among the French Protestants in Holland. Because of the greater success of the movements to settle in Pennsylvania among the Germans, the efforts which were also made among the French have been overlooked. Benjamin Furly, a wealthy English Quaker of Rotterdam, a man of some learning and many languages, translated and circulated pamphlets among the French refugees of Holland. Some of these are collected in the publication called *Diverses Pièces concernant la Pensylvanie* (Rotterdam, 1682) which includes a brief account of the colony by William Penn himself, explanatory notes by Mr. Furly, and a letter from a delighted colonist to a friend in England. One of Furly's intimates, Jean Leclerc, one of the most distinguished of the French journalists of Holland, gave space in his *Bibliothèque Choisie* to reviews of the writings of Penn and to accounts of the colony. In 1712 he describes it thus: "The country is very beautiful and very fertile, and William Penn, who is a man of intelligence, and who has been in France, compares it to the southern provinces of France or to Italy. . . . It will probably become very thickly populated if the indiscretions of religious zeal do not cause persecutions such as have disgraced the other colonies." The colonization propaganda met with only moderate success among the French. There was, to be sure, a small Huguenot settlement in Pennsylvania in the Welsh Mountains, northwest of Philadelphia, but the French never came in sufficient numbers to create a distinc-

tive group like the Germans or the Quakers themselves. The interest of the French Protestants in Quakerism as a religion was slight. They were not a people given to religious mysticism in any form, in spite of the fears of their theologians, notably Jurieu.¹ Wherever they settled they soon lost their identity as a religious group and became absorbed in the established Protestant churches in England and Holland and the Episcopal Church in America.² The Quaker publicity, therefore, gained few colonists and few converts, but it did give information about Pennsylvania which attracted attention in France for quite different reasons from those intended by the Quakers.

French travelers and theologians had written much of the Quakers as a sect almost from the beginning of the movement.³ It was not, however, until the second half of the eighteenth century that Pennsylvania received especial attention. England was regarded as the model country throughout the first half of the century, and whatever interest the French took in the English colonies was reflected from the metropole. One of the four letters which Voltaire wrote about Quakers in the *Lettres Philosophiques* (1734) gave some account of Pennsylvania. In fact he originated the much used phrase "l'age d'or". But in the polemics and discussions which followed the appearance of Voltaire's *Lettres*, and which were very generally read because of the condemnation of the book, the interest centered on the English Quakers, their theology and their peculiar manners. However, when Voltaire came back to the subject of Quakers in the *Essai sur les Moeurs* (1756) and the *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763) it is Pennsylvania which stands for Quaker idealism and which is given as the model of tolerance and good government. Stress is no longer laid on Quaker views concerning baptism and other points of theology or private conduct. The interest is obviously in the political experiment in Pennsylvania. By 1763 the growing complaints of the colonies against the English government were more and more frequently heard. These rumors and the increasing friction between the two countries undermined the popular faith in the ideal character of the English government, and America soon took the place of England as the ideal, while Pennsylvania and its Quakers overshadowed all the other colonies.

The French and Indian War had been an important factor in making Pennsylvania known in France. In 1756 there was a trans-

¹ P. Jurieu, *Lettre de quelques Protestants Pacifiques au Sujet de la Réunion des Religions* (s.l., 1685).

² G. Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique* (Paris, 1925).

³ Sorbière, *Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre* (Paris, 1664).

lation of William Smith's *Present State of the Colony of Pennsylvania*. The translator says in his introduction:

There has been much talk in the past year about Pennsylvania. Two years ago the name was not known to more than three hundred Frenchmen. It is one of the most flourishing of all the English colonies of North America, and it has suffered the most from the consequences of the defeat of General Braddock. Its misfortunes have made it known to us. The interest which the public takes at present in everything which has any connection with the war against England has encouraged us to translate this excerpt from a pamphlet in English. . . . It gives an account of everything that has happened in this colony for the past year and shows the extreme antipathy of the inhabitants towards war. If the people of the other English colonies had as peaceful sentiments and were as little ambitious, peace would still exist between the two crowns. The unusual constitution of this Colony, well explained in the pamphlet, makes it even more interesting; it represents it rather as a republic allied to England than as a province subject to it.

The expression "republic" as applied to Pennsylvania is important to note because in many subsequent books, even after the founding of the United States, Pennsylvania is referred to by French writers as a republic. Grimm called attention to this book in a significant notice (Dec. 1, 1756): "This is a book which is interesting to philosophers as well as to politicians. . . . You will see in it the strange customs of those people who refuse to bear arms from religious principles. The cruelties practised by the savages are not very favorable to the system of M. Rousseau, nor honorable for humanity in general."

Two other pre-revolutionary books which originated in Pennsylvania were also translated into French: Dickinson's *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer* (1766) and in 1775 a brochure called in French *La Ferme de Pensylvanie*. These books helped to keep the name of Pennsylvania before the public but they gave little information concerning this colony as distinct from others. Furthermore, they were written by Americans and do not indicate, except when they are reviewed, the opinion of the French about Penn's colony. In the face of this growing interest and the accounts in the *Encyclopedia* which were so full of extravagant praise, it is rather curious that the first book about Pennsylvania by an authentic European traveler was very hostile to the Quakers and to the colonial government. This was *L'Histoire Naturelle et Politique de la Pensylvanie* by Rousselot de Surgy (1768). The author gives an imposing list of sources, but can not disguise the fact that his book is largely a translation from a German work in which the natural history was written by Kalm, "disciple of Linneus", and the political history by Gottlieb Mittel-

berger, "organist and schoolmaster".⁴ Most of the the book is a bitter attack against the English treatment of the German settlers and its avowed motive is to dissipate the fine illusions with which the Dutch had beguiled his compatriots "in order to traffic shamefully with their persons with the English, who sent them to their colonies where they were reduced to the hardest conditions imaginable. . . . When I left America", says Mittelberger, "I solemnly promised a multitude of unfortunates from the Palatinate, Wurtemberg and Doursch who were suffering the greatest misery in Pennsylvania that I would make known their condition in Europe". A detailed history of the founding of Pennsylvania follows, with extracts from the patent and constitution and Penn's regulations for the colonists. One of the chief causes for complaint was the unprotected condition of the Germans whose border settlements were much more open to Indian attacks than those of the Quakers which were centered around Philadelphia, and although the Quakers now numbered only a fifth of the population the distribution of members in the assembly was such that they had the controlling vote and no laws displeasing to them could be made. Consequently the Germans could obtain no military protection except in so far as the home government in England could override Quaker opinion. In spite of all the bitter feeling in the book, the author blames the system and not the individuals: ". . . the Quaker legislation is very vicious, since it perpetually contradicts itself. Although the object is to assure to the citizens the use of their liberty and to bring them closer to the natural state of man, it really limits this liberty by disdaining to take measures to protect and conserve the group." It is Grimm again who calls attention to the book which is "curious and instructive", he says, and he uses it as an occasion for a few remarks aimed at some of his friends and their preconceived theories. "I particularly love M. Gottlieb Mittelberger for his platitudes. Here is a traveler who inspires confidence and when the Diderots and the Buffons go to traveling I trust their accounts much less than those of Gottlieb Mittelberger".

But whatever sympathy the German Grimm may have had for his suffering compatriots he was not heard by Raynal, who was one of the most lyrical of all the friends of the Quaker colony, and wrote some of his best pages about them. Raynal in spite of his supposed avidity in absorbing all sources of information seems to have missed the protest of Mittelberger as interpreted by Rousselot de Surgy. His summing up of the government of Pennsylvania is in direct contradiction to Surgy.

⁴ *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750* (Stuttgart, 1756).

The humanity of Penn was not limited to the savages. It extended to all those who came to live under his government. As the happiness of man was here to depend on legislation, he founded his on the two pivots which make the splendor of states and the felicity of citizens: property and liberty. If I may borrow the language of the fable in speaking of facts which seem fabulous, I would say that Astrée, so long returned to the heavens, had come back to earth and that the reign of innocence and concord was about to be reestablished among men. Here the writer and his reader can breathe and recover from the disgust that modern history and especially the establishments of other Europeans in the New World have caused him.

After analyzing the laws and the institutions he again generalizes:

these first institutions would naturally and of themselves bring about excellent legislation. This is evident from the immediate and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania. This republic, without wars, without conquests, without effort . . . became a spectacle for the whole universe. Its neighbors, in spite of their barbarism were enslaved by the gentleness of its ways, and distant peoples in spite of their corruption, rendered homage to its virtue. All nations rejoiced to see renewed the heroic times of antiquity which the customs and laws of Europe had made to seem like a fable. They saw at last that people could be happy without masters and without priests. . . . The just man needs only his peers to be happy. Behold and see peace and happiness reigning with justice and liberty among this people of brothers which the sea has heretofore hidden from us.

Did Raynal really believe in all this perfection, or was he merely giving apparent reality to a dream of his own for France? That he had a revolutionary purpose is not to be doubted.⁵ Many other passages are more clearly indicative of it than the ones quoted, and the faculty of theology was undoubtedly justified in condemning the work. Raynal evidently knew that the description of the Quakers was the most objectionable part of the book to the censors, for it was that which he took the most trouble to justify in his *Réponse à la Censure* (1782). Here he omitted the fine prose, but repeated emphatically all the facts about Penn's colony and the history of the Quaker movement in England, which, even without the rhetorical ornamentation of the original text, was a dangerous enough story to be popularized in the last decade of the French monarchy. It would be hard to overstate the popularity of the Abbé Raynal's book. The bibliography of its editions and adaptations forms a volume in itself.⁶ Scherer in his *Études sur la Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle*, says, "I am convinced that the *History of the two Indies* had more influence on the French Revolution than the *Social Contract* itself". Raynal, whose lack of care in the selection of his sources was extraordinary

⁵ For Raynal, see A. Feugère, *Un Précurseur de la Révolution* (Angoulême, 1922).

⁶ A. Feugère, *Bibliographie Critique de l'Abbé Raynal* (Angoulême, 1922).

even for his time, was nevertheless regarded as a safe source himself. His facts and his opinions were freely used, even copied verbally and without due credit by the writers of the many books written to meet the popular interest in America which followed the American Revolution. Roubard, Hilliard d'Auberteuil, Deslandes, and other minor writers copied him outright. Their books have little significance either as literature or history, but all books about America were eagerly read at that time, and these served to perpetuate the legend of the "just Quaker" and the ideal "republic" of Pennsylvania. This legend became so firmly fixed that the very intelligent books of Chastellux and Mazzei⁷ had little effect on the conception of the ideal state which had become popularly associated with Pennsylvania. When these two writers tried to show that the Quakers were merely human and that their government had weaknesses like any other, the storm of protest which met them proves that it was a cherished ideal which they had dared to touch irreverently. Pennsylvania could not be described like any other foreign country, which might be praised or criticized according to the temperament of the observer. If the Quakers were not the ideal citizens described by their partisans, then they must be the worst of hypocrites, and another hope for the perfection of humanity was lost.

Only Chastellux, whose social and intellectual standing was unquestioned, could be heard at all against the chorus of praise. At least two other Frenchmen who had fought in the American Revolution tried to express views on the Quakers which were contrary to the generally accepted attitude. One apparently never found a publisher, although he received the authorization of the Garde des Sceaux (MSS. Fr. Bib. Nat.). The verses of the other passed unnoticed, although published in the *Mémoires Secrets* of Bachaumont. To judge by the prose of the one and the verse of the other, neither had been much influenced by either Voltaire or the Abbé Raynal, and yet there is the bitterness of disillusionment in their works, and they both complain of having been misled by Raynal. They had heard of the wonders of America and particularly of Pennsylvania, and they felt that the facts which they knew did not justify the current opinion. The chief cause of their disappointment was the uncompromising attitude of the Quakers toward war, which withstood even so patriotic a war as the American Revolution. A

⁷ Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, dans les Années 1780, 1781, 1782* (Paris, 1786). Chastellux had printed in 1781 on board the French fleet an account of his first journey, *Voyage de Newport à Philadelphie*. This was in twenty-four copies for his personal friends. An incomplete and unauthorized version was printed in Cassel in 1785. Mazzei, *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les États Unis* (1788).

few lines from the "poet" will suffice to show that he was not charmed by the new world.

Je m'embarquai pour l'Amérique
Je quittai mon pays natal
Traversant le vaste Atlantique
Sur la foi de l'Abbé Rénal (*sic*)

Mais lui, peu chiche de l'étoffe
Dont son esprit chaud s'emparat
Comme un moderne philosophe
A taillé l'erreur à plein drap.

Dans la douce ivresse où nous plonge
Le charme d'un stile divin
Les prix fous sont pour le mensonge
Le vrai moisit au magasin.

.....
J'ai vu le Quaker pacifique
Dont l'orgueil perçoit le manteau,
J'ai vu l'insolence cynique
Qui fixoit son vaste chapeau.

J'ai vu la vieille en Métine (*sic*)
Squellette échappé de l'enfer
Prêcher à ce que j'imagine
L'Évangile de Lucifer.⁸

The poem continues in the same strain for thirty-six stanzas, in which the only good thing found in America is George Washington. Even the patriot soldiers are cruel, hypocritical, and looking for personal gain. The American is already over-eager for gold according to this French critic. The author of the manuscript account is even more displeased with the Quakers:

As for these Quakers, so greatly praised by the illustrious Abbé R . . . , he deified them because he had never seen them. They are, he says, "kind to all, humane to those whom they know, generous beyond all imagination, always eager to render service." The fact is that they have the hardest hearts, are deaf to all need, and completely lacking in all feeling except when the interests of their sect are concerned.

The reason for the author's prejudice is soon seen when he accuses them of being the friends of King George, and of giving aid to Lord Howe when the patriots were suffering at Valley Forge.

But these hostile accounts were apparently unnoticed and when the Abbé Robin (1782) and Crèvecoeur (1784) published their accounts of America there is the same uncritical praise which had been so often repeated since the publication of the *Encyclopedie*. Robin and

⁸ These verses are anonymous in Bachaumont. On a manuscript recently found in Boston by Professor van Roosbroeck they are attributed to M. le Vicomte de Maurois, Lieut. Colonel, 1778.

Crèvecoeur knew Pennsylvania from personal experience as well as did the two anonymous critics, but they were "philosophes" and saw it in the light of theories. The life of the Quakers is simple. Simplicity is the greatest natural virtue. Therefore the Quakers have all the virtues. This seems to be the logic of Robin in the following passage:

The most numerous sect is that of the Quakers. . . . As this sect has more tolerance, more strict morality and more equality than the others, and since it was established in Pennsylvania at a time when it still had much of the spirit of its founders, it kept all the austerity of its principles. Its legislation tended even more to make these colonists free, equal and simple. The temperateness of the climate, the agricultural occupations, and an isolated existence favored good legislation, and Pennsylvania became the most virtuous colony that history has ever seen. But unfortunately strangers have come in, fortunes have increased, luxury is appearing and soon it will only be a brilliant meteor which has shown itself for an instant to the universe.

The author of this eulogy was chaplain to Rochambeau's army. His Raynal did not forsake him in spite of the pessimistic tone of the last sentence.

In 1782 appeared Raynal's *Réponse à la Censure*, mentioned above, which restated more forcefully because less lyrically his belief in the virtue of the Quaker state, and in 1784 came one of the most popular books of the end of the eighteenth century, the *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain* by Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur. As Grimm remarked, it is a book without method and without art, but admirably fulfills its purpose, which is to make America loved. The rest of Grimm's comment is interesting in view of certain opinions which are held of America in Europe today: "Until half of Europe becomes a province of America, as it is perhaps destined to become some day, it seems to me that if I were a king, with the best of intentions to make my subjects happy, and never to constrain their liberty, this is one of the books which I would be the most tempted to prevent their reading." Crèvecoeur is too well known even to-day to need to be quoted. His book came at just the moment between the American Revolution and the French Revolution to give it the greatest force, when faith was strong in Rousseau and the beauty of life near to nature. He had lived so long in America that his facts were unquestioned, and these facts justified all the things which his readers most wished to believe. And although the book is not specifically about Pennsylvania or about Quakers, the latter whenever they appear—Walter Mifflin, Benezet, the Quaker of Maryland, or the Friend whose land bordered the Delaware—all are noble men, just as they should have been according to the accounts of Raynal and

the others. They are "full of grace", not like the Calvinists; they abhor war, but are no less patriotic for that. "Their religious system is most simple. It consists in the fear of God and the practice of moral virtues." Their conduct is affable, even-tempered, and kindly; their probity irreproachable, they show justice and equity in all their affairs. Frugality at table, simplicity, and perfect cleanliness in their houses as well as in their dress complete the list of good qualities. The only unfavorable criticism is of their pacifism, which Crèvecoeur does not believe to be practical. According to him they have developed successfully in peace and prosperity because they are protected by the larger society around them. Such an account of life in Pennsylvania would seem unanswerable, being obviously sincere and the result of long acquaintance, not of a soldier's or traveler's hasty view. As the *Année Littéraire* expressed it: "Here is an excellent work. He who wrote it is not an author or a maker of books or a philosopher; he is a good citizen, a farmer, a virtuous man who speaks of what he knows, who describes what he has seen, and who thinks as his heart directs."

But Chastellux believed the facts to be exaggerated and the doctrine dangerous. He used all his authority as a member of the Académie Française and as a "philosophe" of the tradition of Voltaire to combat the popular enthusiasm for this peculiar sect. Although he is forced to admit the disinterested philanthropy and intelligent conversation of the only Quaker with whom he had talked, Antoine Benezet, he says that he must be regarded "rather as a model than as a sample of the Quakers". As for the others, he repeats all the rumors which were circulated about them by other Americans who disliked them, recounting petty gossip, and reflecting an unsympathetic attitude on his own part which colored his observations as strongly as their preconceived enthusiasm affected others. Like all the hostile critics of the Quakers, the suspicion of hypocrisy is the chief accusation which he brings against them:

The rule which many of them observe of not saying "you" or "sir" is far from giving them a tone of simplicity or candor. Possibly it is to compensate this sort of rusticity that they often take on a honeyed and ingratiating tone which is quite Jesuitical. Nor does their conduct contradict this resemblance. Covering with the mantle of religion their indifference to the public good, they avoid bloodshed, it is true, especially their own, but they take money from both sides in time of war, and that with no shame or concealment. There is a current opinion in commerce that they are not to be trusted, and this opinion is justified. What can be worse than an enthusiasm in its decadence, and what can be substituted for it but hypocrisy?

But Chastellux, in spite of his unfriendly attitude towards Quakers in general, really contributed to increasing the belief in their nobility of character rather than to diminishing it as he intended. Against the background of these rumors which are supported by no facts, the portrait which Chastellux paints of Antoine Benezet makes him stand out more clearly as the "just Quaker". In the conversation which Chastellux reports between himself and this famous citizen of Philadelphia, Benezet appears to be intelligent and well informed. He knows of the movements toward liberty in France: "My friend", he says, "I know that thou art a man of letters and a member of the French Academy. Men of letters have written many good things in recent years; they have attacked error, prejudice, and especially intolerance; are they not striving to disgust men with war and to make them live together as brothers and friends?" Chastellux makes a reply characteristic of a "philosophe". "You are not mistaken, friend, when you base some hope on the progress of light and philosophy. Many are working actively on the edifice of the public good, but the building of many parts would be in vain if it lacked a foundation, and this foundation as you have rightly said is universal peace." Fine words on the part of Chastellux, for a few pages further on he is accusing the Quakers of hypocrisy because of their consistently hostile attitude toward war. However, Chastellux gave a vivid portrait of a great humanitarian, whose disinterested passion for noble causes could not be questioned. Benezet gave his fortune and his strength to the freeing and the education of negroes, to the founding of hospitals, to the reform of prisons, and to the extension of tolerance and peace. The fact that he was French by birth and Quaker by profession made him the more interesting to the French, and in spite of Chastellux's warning, they were much more likely to take him for a typical than an exceptional Quaker.

It is at this point that the prolific journalist Brissot de Warville adds his eloquence to the defense of the Utopia of Pennsylvania. Imaginary utopias can be destroyed by argument, but when one has been found really to exist, with a constitution, model laws, and model citizens, a few critical academicians can not be allowed to attack it. The Quaker ideal was Brissot's ideal. He was about to abandon his home and settle in Pennsylvania when he heard that the States General were to be called, and he thought that the time had come when he could save his native country. From 1785 to 1793, when the guillotine put an end to his activities, he wrote and talked unceasingly for the cause of liberty as he understood it. In the midst of cabals and petty pamphleteering he never failed to keep his ideal before the

public. He wrote many books to make the Quakers better known, and answered every attack made against them. It seemed to be a matter of real importance in France to determine whether the Quaker was as good as he was painted by his friends or whether he was the Jesuit in disguise of his enemies. It was not an idle discussion of theories about a distant people. There was a vital need to believe in the Quakers. If the authority of kings was to be replaced by democracy it was necessary to have faith in the goodness of common men. Rousseau had made it sound very beautiful but his chief proof was his consciousness of his own goodness and his certainty of the goodness of the savage. If Pennsylvania could be proved to be a real utopia, then there was hope that organized society could be as good as natural man, and perfect equality was possible of realization. An article in the *Journal de Paris*, February 10, 1785, expresses the opinion of many idealists: "Among them (the Quakers) there is no first nor last; all are equal. They offer the most constant model of simplicity and justice, gentleness and patience, real humanity."

When Brissot first wrote of Quakers in his *Journal du Lycée de Londres* (1784) he had never been to Pennsylvania and his chief interest was not in making known their faith. But the English Quakers had inspired his respect, and he was one of the most eager readers of the *Lettres d'un Cultivateur*, which seemed to prove the truth of what he wished to believe. Chastellux inspired him to write a vindication of the Quakers, the *Examen Critique des Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. le Marquis de Chastellux* (London, 1786). His deep interest in the United States led to the publication of his next book, which he wrote in collaboration with Clavière, *De la France et des États Unis* (1787), and which was intended to promote commercial relations between the two countries. In 1788 he visited the new republic and the result was his *Nouveau Voyage en Amérique*, published in 1791. Until his death, in the midst of continuous publication of pamphlets and great political activity, he never ceased praising the Quakers in the *Journal de Paris* and the *Patriote Français*. No opportunity to speak of them was missed. In 1786 his wife translated Goldsmith's *Letters Concerning the History of England*. Brissot added notes to compensate for certain omissions of Goldsmith, among them the history of the Quakers and the founding of Pennsylvania. Brissot de Warville was undoubtedly a real idealist. We can not here discuss all of his motives; possibly he was ambitious for personal gain. So were his enemies. There is at least one witness to his disinterestedness, the *Mémoires* of Garat, who says of him:

In the midst of great activity and great poverty his way of life always seemed to me simple and pure, and his ambition the liberty and happiness of peoples. This feeling was a religion to him more than a philosophy, and although he liked glory he would have consented to eternal obscurity in order to be the Penn of Europe, to convert the human race into a community of Quakers, and to make of Paris a new Philadelphia. And this is the man whom they put to death as a conspirator!

Brissot's vindication of the Quakers against the Marquis de Chastellux, which was also published in English (Philadelphia, 1788), is, in spite of the evidence of strong feeling, logical and reasonable. He points out what the modern reader, whose feelings are not concerned in the matter, can easily see; that whatever anecdotes Chastellux relates put the Quakers in a favorable light and that his accusations against them are not supported by facts. According to Brissot, Chastellux is not worthy to be called a philosopher, for "if proud men of learning who claim the title of philosophers really had philosophy in their hearts, they would wish to imitate the Quakers". But Chastellux is not capable of understanding the people he describes: "Your moral and religious opinions, your aristocratic spirit, bound up with academic and military views, this triple esprit de corps which the Quakers so rightly despise, make you in advance an unsafe witness and a partial judge." But Brissot himself, years before, when he saw them in London had immediately appreciated the value of the Quakers, their "simplicity, candor, good faith and sincerity. They are not polite, but humane; they do not have wit, but good sense. Their wives are faithful, tender and simple. They are upright and honest". Through scores of pages Brissot embroiders on this theme, showing how these model people have founded a model state.

In the years from 1785 to 1788 the *Journal de Paris* published an article or an extract from some book about Quakers in almost every number. There were selections from Crèvecoeur and Chastellux alike, although the general policy of the paper seems to have been to discourage the idealization of the Quakers, and Brissot complained that he had sent them many articles and letters which they refused to publish. Some of the articles which oppose the belief in the perfection of the Quakers were by Giovanni Ferri, Conte di S. Constant, who later changed his attitude completely. In the *Journal de Paris*, 1786, he says: "Even Voltaire who dares to laugh at what is ridiculous in this sect gives it and its chief such praise as even the Republic of Plato would scarcely deserve if it had ever existed." In the year XII. the same author wrote in *Londres et les Anglais*: "If the Quakers had originated in Greece and Fox instead of found-

ing a religious sect had founded a philosophic sect, he would have acquired a great name, and his followers would be regarded as the best among the philosophers." It is probably another case in which the first opinion is affected by the Quaker attitude toward war, for the article of the *Journal de Paris* quotes Thomas Paine as authority to prove that the conduct of the Quakers during the war was "odious". He announces that "an eloquent American philosopher will soon publish a work on the United States of America in which he refutes the errors so widely spread by those who have written as orators or romancers on this same subject. The exact and detailed history which he gives of the Quakers will no longer permit anyone to believe in the Utopia of Penn". This eloquent American philosopher was probably Mazzei, whose book, however, did not appear until 1788. But the legend was firmly fixed and the opposing voices were faint in comparison to the eloquence of those who believed in the "Utopia of Penn". Even Thomas Paine made no impression, a fact which is sufficient evidence in itself that we are dealing with an almost religious faith. If it had been a scientific search for truth, Paine, who had been a Quaker himself, would have had a hearing. After the article in the *Journal de Paris* by Ferri, the Abbé Robin came back to the defense, telling of the noble Quakers whom he had seen, who had kept to their principles of simplicity, and who were most tolerant, treating him with kindness and offering him the best of their hospitality although he was a priest. The will to believe in liberty and equality was at its height, and the sentiment which finally won over the critics was that expressed in *Les Baisers de Zizi* (1786).

J'errai longtemps dans la vaste Amérique
 J'étudiai le caractère unique
 Des fils de Penn et de la Liberté.
 Peuple droit, bizarre et pacifique
 Fou de la Bible et de l'égalité.

The *Mercure de France* in commenting on the poem considers the last line very beautiful.

Probably the best book on the United States which was written at the end of the eighteenth century was the *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les États Unis*, by Mazzei (1788). Most of the book is reasonable, impersonal, and informing. The statements are supported by many citations from documents and personal observation. But the author can not treat the Quakers in the same spirit. Here there are popular illusions to be fought and they are attacked with great bitterness. The *Mercure de France* quoted liberally from the book and apparently looked with regret on the destruction of the ideal Quaker.

Mazzei picks out all the weak points in Raynal's eulogy of the Quakers, but weakens his own arguments by unnecessarily vilifying the character of Penn and relating old stories which were current in England during the Revolution of 1688, according to which the Quakers were often accused of being Jesuits in disguise. After pointing out that the famous purchase of the land from the Indians differed comparatively little from the seizure of the land by the other English colonists, and that Penn's dealings with his own colonists were not above the suspicion of self-interest, he concludes: "As for the religious principles of Penn, opinions are quite divided. Some people have thought him to be a Quaker, others a Jesuit. One thing is certain; his conduct was absolutely Jesuitical and resembled that of the Quakers only in the points where the Quakers resemble the Jesuits."

Brissot immediately came to the defense of his beloved Quakers (*Réponse à une Critique des Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain, faite par l'Auteur anonyme des Recherches sur les États Unis*, Paris, 1788), but he brought no new proofs of the virtue of his ideal state. During the same year another hostile account of the Quakers appeared, this time from the church, in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* of the Abbé Bergier, a vain attempt of the liberal Catholics to defend the Church from the attacks of the revolutionary leaders and the popularizing of the so-called philosophic spirit. The article on Quakers, giving Mosheim (*Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1766) and Mazzei as sources, shows that this controversy, apparently so far removed from the actualities of the moment in France, was really a burning subject which symbolized for both sides the ideals of the encyclopedists: "The praise of this sect in the old Encyclopedia was copied from the *Lettres Philosophiques* whose author was never known for sincerity. The author of the *Histoire des Établissements des Européens dans les Deux Indes* has only repeated and amplified the same fables." After defending the accuracy of his sources, the author spoils his effect by relating the most extravagant rumors about the early Quakers, calling them fanatics and unbelievers who hold Christianity up to scorn.

But the Abbé Bergier with his concern over unbelievers and fanatics was behind the times. The defenders of the Quakers in the ten years preceding the French Revolution were not trying to establish a sect in France nor to purify the church by discussions of primitive Christianity. They were seeking for an ideal republic on which to base their hopes for France, and to prove that man could successfully return to a state of comparative simplicity without going back to barbarism. Raynal himself did not believe that a pure state of nature was the ideal. "It is foolish to believe that men animated only by the workings of nature were better than they are today. . . .

Savage nations have always been the most barbarous." But according to him, in so far as a return toward nature was practicable, the Quakers in Pennsylvania had attained it, and prosperity and peace had rewarded the practice of liberty, equality, and fraternity. This idea that prosperity is the natural reward of civic virtue is often expressed, and Philadelphia is considered to be one of the most flourishing cities of the New World because the Quakers established there a simple life purified of the corruption of other cities.

The incorruptible Quaker was a frequent character on the stage in these pre-revolutionary years.⁹ His virtues were also lauded in poetry.¹⁰ But the greatest heights of rhetoric were probably reached by Marsillac in the introduction to his *Vie de Guillaume Penn* (1791), when he said, "Ferocious conquerors, bloodthirsty tyrants seeking happiness! You whose names have been remembered for your cruelties, your murders and your thefts! Answer me. Have your evil deeds made you happier? No! Then look on Penn, tremble, and weep!"

Marsillac, however, wrote after the outbreak of the French Revolution and it is quite beyond the bounds of this article to trace the criticism and defense of Quakers during the Revolution. The feeling for and against them became more partisan when the "tyrants" were at last overthrown and the work of finding a practical road to liberty began. Certain beliefs about the Quaker "republic" were well established by 1789, whether they represented true conditions in Pennsylvania or not, and they persisted in spite of the protests which have been indicated. According to these beliefs Penn was the greatest lawgiver and moralist in modern history; the Indians and the negroes had received better treatment from the Quaker than from other Europeans; Pennsylvania with its ideal constitution needed no other laws, no police, no army, no oaths. The Quakers had attained to absolute equality; in private life they were honest, in public life incorruptible; all this because they preached and practiced simplicity. To quote once more, this time from the Abbé Coyer, who wrote before Raynal (*La Prédication*, Paris, 1766): "William Penn! You were a conqueror, but peaceful and just. You left the delights of titles and grandeur in London to go to establish the reign of virtue among the Savages of America. Without arms or force or violence you bought your empire from them and you gave to your capital the beautiful name of Philadelphia because it was truly founded in brotherly love."

Goucher College.

EDITH PHILIPS.

⁹ Faur, *La Veuve Anglaise* (Paris, 1786); Gorgy, *Les Torts Apparents* (Paris, 1787); Boursault-Malherbe, *Les Quakers* (n.d.).

¹⁰ *Les Baisers de Zizi* (1786); Béranger, *Ma Patrie* (1783); Bourdon, *Voyage d'Amérique* (1786).

A NEW MADISON MANUSCRIPT RELATING TO THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787

IN 1926 there came to the Yale University Library¹ a manuscript purporting to be a copy of the *Journal* of the Federal Convention of 1787 in the handwriting of James Madison. Historians have made no mention of a manuscript copy of Secretary Jackson's *Journal* and do not even seem to have suspected the existence of this particular document. It has, therefore, been subjected to a thorough study, with a view to determining its authenticity, its historical importance, and its intrinsic interest. The results of this study are given below.

In physical appearance the manuscript is a folio of 140 unnumbered pages, approximately 12⁹/₁₆ by 8 inches, stamped with the watermark of Joshua Gilpin's mill in Delaware,² and bound in a "wall-paper" cover. On a preliminary leaf are the words "Elliott's Debates", a number of illegible marks, and an outline sketch of a triumphal arch, all these being in pencil and foreign to the original content and hand of the document. Then the main body of the manuscript begins, with the writing in ink covering 108 of the remaining pages. The rest are blank. At the end two sheets have been cut off with scissors. The 108 pages obviously record the minutes of some deliberating body; and at the top of the first page of the manuscript proper stands the caption: "In Federal Convention". Just over this appears also the heading: "(Copied from the original by James Madison Jr. N. York Sep^r & Oct^r". The right hand corner of the page has been either torn or cut, so that the year of the copying and the parenthesis which probably concluded the line are missing.

The manuscript bears no other title, but careful examination has shown that it is in fact a genuine copy in Madison's hand of the *Journal* of the Federal Convention. The writing is undoubtedly Madison's, strongly resembling that of his *Debates* manuscript of 1787. Madison's peculiarities—such as his usual abbreviations and his spelling of "Pinkney" without a "c" and "Rutledge" with an "i"—are also in evidence throughout. And the contents are the minutes of the Federal Convention as taken down by Secretary Jackson. On this point there can be no question. Under the head-

¹ Through the generosity of Mrs. Edward S. Harkness of New York City.

² The watermark consists of a drawing of a plow on one sheet of the folio and "J G & Co/Brandywine" on the other.

ing "In Federal Convention" follows the record of the official *Journal*, opening in the same words, continuing with the same minutes, and lacking—as does the original—the last two days.

This document differs from the *Journal* chiefly in three respects. It puts the proceedings of the Committee of the Whole in their correct place in the minutes, instead of in a second book; it omits the tables of votes which composed the third book of Jackson's record;³ and the Rules governing the Convention⁴ are copied from some other source. Otherwise it is a direct and strikingly faithful copy, and does credit to Madison's accuracy and patience. The general variations between the manuscript and the original *Journal* are so slight as to rule out the possibility of an intermediate copy; in fact whole passages, such as the table of electors of July 20 and the resolutions on the executive of July 26, are reproduced so carefully as to make them almost identical with the original in lines, spacing, and general appearance. Sometimes, it seems, Madison followed Jackson even more closely than later editors have done; and it is interesting to find that he noticed that the pencil insertions in the *Journal* for September 4 were made by George Washington, a fact which has since escaped remark.⁵ At other times he was so meticulous in copying every meaningless scratch in the margin that he appears like a medieval scribe.⁶ On occasions he even started to repeat Jackson's careless mistakes, with the result that he was forced to follow his corrections, too.⁷ Only once, apparently, did Madison lose patience. Having written the motions at the beginning of the August 8 minutes in the wrong order, he crossed them out, turned the leaf, and began the day over again; but, in his hurry, he inadvertently turned two leaves instead of one, and the only two blank pages within the text were left, to bear mute testimony. Otherwise his mistakes were few. He copied, for example, the two halves of the minutes of September 13 in inverse order, because the sheet in the original *Journal* was loose and had become reversed. But in general the defects of the

³ Jackson kept his records in three books: (1) the formal journal of the Convention; (2) the journal of the Committee of the Whole House; (3) the tables of votes. Some of the latter were also on loose sheets of paper. Why Madison did not copy these tables of votes is not clear, but it is at least possible that he saw that the work involved in getting order out of Jackson's chaotic arrangement would be too great and the results too uncertain to warrant the effort.

⁴ These are the Rules agreed to on May 28.

⁵ See Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention*, II. 493-495, foot-notes, for his notice of these insertions.

⁶ The Jackson manuscript has interlinear double lines in the minutes of August 20 and 22. Madison copied these, although there seems to have been no reason for so doing.

⁷ Examples of this may be found throughout the Yale manuscript.

manuscript are only such as to give it a certain individuality without detracting from the accuracy of the reproduction.

In attempting to piece out the curiously obscure history of this document since it was first made, a gap of more than one hundred and thirty years has to be bridged, and only two printed references to it have as yet been found. Fortunately, these reveal the general outline of its wanderings and serve to trace it for nearly a century, from the hands of its original owner and author almost to the time when it came into the possession of the dealer, A. S. W. Rosenbach, from whom it was last purchased. The first reference appears in a letter of June 13, 1820, from Madison to John Quincy Adams, written shortly after the *Journal* had for the first time appeared in print. Thanking Adams, the editor of the printed *Journal*, for sending him a copy, Madison called attention to an error in it, and in proof cited the contents of a document which he described as his "extract" from the "original journal".⁸ The "extract" thus referred to was undoubtedly Madison's copy of Jackson's record. In 1820, then, the manuscript now in the Yale Library was in Madison's possession, and it may reasonably be assumed that he had had it since he first copied the *Journal*.

The other reference is found in an auction catalogue compiled by Stan. V. Henkels for Thomas Birch's Sons, Auctioneers, in Philadelphia. This was put together for the sale on December 6 and 7, 1892, of "Washington-Madison Papers" from the estate of J. C. McGuire, a connection of the Madison family. Item 90 in the catalogue seems to have been the manuscript under discussion, and a description of it is given. The heading is quoted as follows: "Copies from the original by James Madison Jr., N. York, Sep. & Oct., 1787. In Federal Convention." The correct number of pages, 108, is also given; so there can be no doubt as to the identity. In the introduction to the catalogue it is further stated: "All the letters and papers enumerated in this catalogue, from lots 1 to 139 inclusive, were purchased by the late J. C. McGuire of Washington, D. C., from Payne Todd, son of Mrs. Dolly P. Madison, by her first husband," This impecunious stepson of the fourth President had evidently parted with a number of these papers after receiving them from his mother. And she had come into possession of them after her husband's death in 1836.⁹ Thus the link is established. What happened to the manuscript after the auction is not as yet clear, but the two references sufficiently corroborate its authenticity and suggest the vicissitudes of its history.

⁸ Farrand, *op. cit.*, III. 445.

⁹ Madison's will, April 19, 1835, in *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt, IX. 548-552.

The dating of this manuscript is a difficult and fascinating question, raised by the mutilation of the corner of the first page and not fully settled by the description in the 1892 auction catalogue. It is a problem which depends for solution entirely on circumstantial evidence, with the result that the conclusion here reached must be regarded as open to possible future modification. For the sake of a fair presentation, therefore, the conflicting evidence will be given in some detail.

It will be recalled that the heading of the manuscript reads: " (Copied from the original by James Madison Jr. N. York Sep^r & Oct ", the corner of the page with the date and the parenthesis being missing. The definite statement of Henkels in 1892 that the heading then read " Sep. & Oct., 1787 ", must at first be classed as interesting rather than conclusive, as it may have been merely a guess from the probabilities of the case. As a matter of fact it will appear that this is but one of several inaccuracies marring Henkels's quotation of the line.

Madison's letter to Adams makes it clear that he had the manuscript in 1820; and references in the document to " the Journal ", subsequently altered to read " the original Journal ",¹⁰ prove that he had it at least a short time before receiving the Adams edition of Jackson's record. Further, the " N. York " of the heading eliminates the years after 1796, for on March 19 of that year Washington, who had received the *Journal* from Jackson on the evening of September 17, 1787, after the Convention's dissolution,¹¹ deposited it with the Department of State. Thenceforth the *Journal* remained with that department in Philadelphia and Washington. Finally, the " Sep^r & Oct " clearly limits the possibilities to the years when Madison was in New York during those months, that is, to 1787, 1788, 1789, and perhaps 1790.¹²

Madison, as has already been suggested, seems to have referred to the manuscript but once in all his printed correspondence. And Washington seems never to have mentioned lending the *Journal* to Madison at all. Nothing but circumstantial evidence is therefore

¹⁰ See the minutes for August 29 and September 14 in the Yale manuscript. In the latter case Madison called attention to the fact that the Jackson *Journal* did not contain the record of the last two days by writing: " The Journal is not continued farther." Later he inserted " Original " before " Journal ", presumably because Adams in his edition of the *Journal* did print the proceedings of the last two days. This information Adams had secured from Madison, who had made a summary from his *Debates* manuscript.

¹¹ *The Diaries of George Washington*, ed. J. C. Fitzpatrick, III. 237; Farrand, *op. cit.*, III. 82, 370; *Documentary History of the Constitution*, I. 47.

¹² *The Writings of Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt, I.-IX.

available to determine in which of these four years it was copied. The nature of this evidence makes it appear fairly certain, however, that the copying was done in the fall of 1789, two years after the holding of the Federal Convention.

In reaching this conclusion 1790 is eliminated as being the least likely, for there is no evidence whatsoever that points to this year; and furthermore Madison was probably not in New York during September and October. The year 1788 is likewise eliminated, because, although Madison was in New York during September and October, Washington, who had the manuscript which Madison needed, was not. To have done the copying in this year Madison must have secured the valuable document when he visited Washington in Mount Vernon early in July and then kept it two months before setting about his task and four more months before returning it.¹³

The year 1787 seems at first to be the logical one, not only because it is given in Henkels's catalogue, but also because the Convention was just over, and Madison, having finished taking down his *Debates* notes, was probably very much interested in the idea of keeping a full record of the proceedings. Such a theory encounters two difficulties, however, which make it seem on the whole unlikely. Madison was so tired at the end of the Convention from his work in that body and from the labor involved in keeping his notes that it is doubtful whether he would have had the energy necessary for so exacting a task. As he is reported to have said later to Governor Edward Coles, the work of writing up his *Debates* and the confinement to which he was subjected during the Convention "almost killed him".¹⁴

The second difficulty with the 1787 hypothesis is that Madison's copy is written on paper bearing the watermark of Joshua Gilpin's mill on the Brandywine. This mill, as far as can be ascertained, began to manufacture paper in that very year, 1787¹⁵—a coincidence that makes the copying that fall possible, but any assertion to that effect extremely hazardous.

The objection to 1789, on the other hand, is that Madison was busy in Congress with the first amendments to the Constitution in September, and that he appears to have left New York on October 8.¹⁶ But this does not preclude the possibility of his having copied

¹³ After his visit of July, Madison was not at Mount Vernon again until December 19, 1788. *The Diaries of George Washington*, III. 384, 456.

¹⁴ H. B. Grigsby, *The History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788*, Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, n. s. IX. 95, footnote.

¹⁵ H. C. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware*, II. 423; L. H. Weeks, *A History of Paper-Manufacturing in the United States, 1690-1916*, p. 92. Letters of inquiry have elicited no further information.

¹⁶ *The Diaries of George Washington*, IV. 17.

the *Journal* in those months, and all the rest of the circumstantial evidence combines to make 1789 seem the logical year. In the first place, both Washington and Madison were then in New York, so that no call at Mount Vernon was necessary, and Washington did not have to let the *Journal* get far out of his hands. In the second place Madison was evidently going through his *Debates* during August of this year, for having noticed that he did not have enough material in his record to reconstruct the speech which Randolph had made in the Convention in connection with his resolutions, he wrote to Randolph requesting him to supply the deficiency.¹⁷ That Madison at this time may have decided that he needed a copy of Jackson's *Journal* to fill in other gaps in his *Debates* is altogether likely. And, finally, the evidence of the watermarked paper is almost conclusive. Madison, as far as can be ascertained from his letters preserved in the Library of Congress, used paper exactly the same as that of the manuscript only from June to September, 1789.¹⁸

Of possible importance in connection with the dating of the manuscript and of intrinsic interest as well, are Washington's pencilled notations in the September 4 minutes of the Jackson *Journal*, which Madison noticed in copying. These interlinear corrections were made in the clauses having to do with the election and the powers of the President—should the proposed Constitution ever go into effect—and constituted amendments to these clauses which were agreed to on subsequent days.¹⁹ Should the discovery of new evidence make it seem likely that Madison's copying was done in 1787, it at once becomes clear that Washington must have made these insertions and turned the *Journal* over to Madison before the early afternoon of September 18, when he drove out of Philadelphia for Mount Vernon,²⁰ leaving Madison to go on a few days later to New York. That is, he must have added them, either at the end of some day late in the

¹⁷ In his interesting letter to Randolph of August 21, 1789, Madison said: "I find in looking over the notes of your introductory discourse in the Convention at Philada that it is not possible for me to do justice to the substance of it. I am anxious for particular reasons, to be furnished with the means of preserving this as well as the other arguments in that body, and must beg that you will make out & forward me the scope of your reasoning. You have your notes I know & from these you can easily deduce the argument on a condensed plan. I make this request with an earnestness wch. will not permit you either to refuse or delay a compliance." Farrand, *op. cit.*, III. 358-359.

¹⁸ See, among the Madison Papers in the Library of Congress, letters of June 24, 1789, to E. Randolph; July 5 to James Madison, sr.; August 21 to Randolph; September 14 to E. Pendleton; and September 23 to Pendleton.

¹⁹ September 5 and 7. The word "immediately" which Professor Farrand considers a later insertion reproduces an amendment of September 6. It is in ink and not in Washington's handwriting.

²⁰ *The Diaries of George Washington*, III. 237.

Convention by borrowing the record temporarily from Jackson, or in the half day between the evening of September 17—when Jackson turned the *Journal* over to him—and the afternoon of the next day. Both of these alternatives present difficulties.

The objection to the first is that Washington's insertions were neither complete nor—if they were made after September 7—accurate. There were several amendments to the report of September 4 which Washington did not incorporate in the Jackson record for that day. Furthermore, the one amendment to a clause on the powers of the President which he did insert should not have been so included, as it was reconsidered and voted down on the day after it was originally passed.²¹

The same objection applies to the second alternative, with an added difficulty. It is unlikely that Washington could have spared the time when he was getting ready to go away to read through the *Journal* to the point where he made his notations, or to make insertions involving—as they appear to have done—considerable thought and study.²² The argument may be presented that Washington, foreseeing his own rôle, was particularly interested in the sections referring to the election and the powers of the President and did not need to read over the whole *Journal* to come upon the subject that he was seeking. But that he could have found time to give the matter any consideration on the last half day is open to doubt.

If, on the other hand, Madison copied the *Journal* in 1789—as now seems more likely—a much wider latitude in dating Washington's insertions is allowed, although the explanation of them is no more satisfactory. It is possible that at some time between the ending of the Convention and September, 1789, perhaps either just before or just after his election, Washington wanted to recall the action taken by the Convention in regard to the election and the powers of the President, and chose this method of informing himself. The obvious objections to this are: first, that if Washington wanted to get at the final sense of the Convention, the fragmentary nature and the inaccuracy of his insertions would have prevented this; and secondly, that at any time after the Convention finished its work he must have had a printed copy of the Constitution in his possession to which he could have referred. Although these insertions neither explain them-

²¹ Cf., votes on words "except Treaties of Peace" at the end of September 7 and the beginning of September 8.

²² An examination of Jackson's manuscript shows that there are marks in pencil on the record for September 4 which even Madison did not note—crosses and lines and "agrees" which give us a picture of Washington, pencil in hand, going over the resolutions sentence by sentence and turning the pages of the *Journal* to look up the later amendments.

selves nor date the manuscript conclusively, then, it should nevertheless be noted that this somewhat surprising disclosure—that these notations in the *Jackson Journal* were made by Washington, a fact hitherto apparently overlooked by historians and revealed for the first time by the Yale manuscript—greatly enhances the interest and the value of this manuscript.

Incidentally, also, it is interesting to observe how this manuscript illustrates the trust and friendship existing between Washington and Madison in 1789. For in lending the *Journal* to Madison, Washington was breaking the letter of the final vote of the Convention to the effect “that he retain the *Journal* and other papers, subject to the order of Congress, if ever formed under the Constitution”. This was the resolution made in answer to Washington’s question as to “what the Convention meant should be done with the Journals &c, whether copies were to be allowed to the members if applied for”. Washington, however, evidently felt that he was not violating the spirit of the Convention’s instructions, since he was confident Madison would never put the minutes to an improper use.²³

This manuscript, then, is a faithful copy of Jackson’s *Journal* of the Federal Convention, made by Madison probably during September and October, 1789. But why Madison undertook so arduous a task has not yet appeared. He had his own notes, since called the *Debates*, which, as he and the other members of the Convention well knew, were far superior to Jackson’s dry record of motions and decisions. Clearly he can not have intended to refer to his new manuscript in congressional debate—as Washington would not have lent the *Journal* to him for any such purpose, and it would have helped him little, in any case. And obviously Madison can not have intended that a copy of so much less complete and intimate an account should supplant his *Debates*. Rather it seems reasonable to suppose that he intended his copy to supplement the *Debates* and give him a complete record of the Convention. That his own notes were defective he can not have escaped knowing, especially as he had been examining them in the summer of 1789.²⁴ It would seem probable that his intended remedy was, therefore, to copy the *Journal*, and to

²³ Farrand, *op. cit.*, II. 648. James McHenry, a delegate to the Convention, in making his report to the Maryland House of Delegates on November 29, 1787, went so far as to assert that the Convention “by a Resolve prohibited any copy to be taken, under the Idea that nothing but the Constitution thus framed & submitted to the Public could come under their consideration . . .”. *Ibid.*, III. 144-145. Mr. King “thought if suffered to be made public, a bad use would be made of them by those who wish to prevent the adoption of the Constitution—” See *Debates*, September 17.

²⁴ Madison to Randolph, August 21, 1789. Letter previously referred to.

compare it with the *Debates* and so correct the latter, when he should have the opportunity.

That such was in fact Madison's intention is at once borne out by a study of certain hitherto unmentioned features of the manuscript. Madison's copy is peculiar in that it contains a small amount of material which is not to be found in the original *Jackson Journal*. This extraneous material consists chiefly of five marginal notes, made apparently at the time of copying, and referring to the *Debates* or to the original appendix of the *Debates*. Thus, on May 25 opposite the list of members appears a "See Note A", referring to a note which contained a similar list of members and was at that time the first appendix in the *Debates*.²⁵ Of a like character are the other marginals occurring in the minutes for May 28, June 13, and June 15.²⁶ The existence of these references proves that Madison's purpose was to compare his copy of the *Journal* with his *Debates*. And it shows as well that the manuscript was for his own use, as the marginals would have been meaningless to anyone not possessing a copy of the *Debates* at the same time.

The only other possibility is that Madison was following his usual habit of supplying Jefferson with important documents, and was making this duplicate for him. Madison later allowed his chief to have a copy made of the *Debates*,²⁷ so that comparison of the two records by the aid of the marginals might have been intended. However, Jefferson did not secure his copy of the *Debates* until at least six

²⁵ The original *Debates* manuscript for May 25 omitted this list and contained instead a similar reference to Note A.

²⁶ (1) On May 28 Madison's copy originally omitted the Rules of the Convention and contained instead a blank space and the marginal "See Note B", referring to the second appendix in the *Debates*. The *Debates* had a similar note at the time; and in both cases this was later stricken out and the Rules were inserted. A careful collation of these Rules with those in the printed *Journal* leads to the conclusion that they were copied from some other source than this *Journal*, perhaps—as originally intended—from "Note B".

(2) Again on May 28, both the manuscript and the *Debates* contained marginal references, "See Note C", to a letter from some men of Rhode Island, which was then in the appendix. In Madison's copy of the *Journal* this has never been stricken out; and the letter is still in the *Debates* appendix.

(3) On June 13, a "See debates of Convention June 13 & 19" refers to a report given to the Secretary. The original date was "July 19"; later the June dates were substituted.

(4) On June 15, a "See them in debates June 15" refers to the Patterson resolves; later "taken by J. M." was added.

²⁷ John W. Eppes to James Madison, in Farrand, *op. cit.*, III. 417-418. Eppes was Jefferson's son-in-law. Madison noted in his *Debates* manuscript: "From June 21 to July 18 inclusive not copied by Mr. Eppes." Madison's letters to Jefferson while the latter was in France furnish numerous examples of his method of keeping his friend acquainted with developments in the United States.

years later (1795-1796),²⁸ and there appears to be no evidence to show that he ever had the copy of the *Journal* in his hands. It would, in fact, have been practically useless to him, because of its limitations. The hypothesis involves, therefore, the unreasonable assumption that Madison was planning a very long time ahead to confer a very doubtful benefit.

The second fact established by an examination of this manuscript and a collation with the *Debates*—and one that eliminates the Jefferson theory entirely—is that the intended comparison of the two by Madison himself was actually carried out. This is suggested by the manuscript where are found two minor insertions,²⁹ which could apparently have come only from the *Debates*, and some changes in the marginal notes,³⁰ which indicate that it was kept on hand for reference purposes for many years. And it is proved by the significant fact that Madison made a number of additions and improvements in the *Debates* manuscript from his copy of the Jackson *Journal*. In the record of two separate days in the Yale manuscript appear certain extraneous marginal lines evidently indicating where the copying was to stop. And at corresponding passages in Madison's *Debates* notes for these same two days, are to be found slips of paper which have been pasted over the original crossed-out portions of the record and which follow the text of the manuscript copy of the *Journal*, rather than the Adams edition of it, whenever there are variations between the two.

Thus, on August 18 there appears in the margin of Madison's manuscript copy a line dividing a long series of propositions: into those suggested by Madison and those suggested by Pinckney, as it develops. Jackson's minutes had no such distinguishing line. The *Debates* originally contained Madison's propositions in full and a mention of the fact that Pinckney had also submitted some resolutions; then an instruction, "See the Journal", was added; and finally these notes were stricken out and over them was pasted a copy of the two sets of resolutions as given in the manuscript, but with proper

²⁸ Madison left important papers for Jefferson on November 8, 1795. (See Madison's letter to Jefferson of that date.) That these were the *Debates* is probable, for in April, 1796, Jefferson had the *Debates* manuscript. See letters, Madison to Jefferson, April 4; Jefferson to Madison, April 19; Madison to Jefferson, May 1.

²⁹ Yale manuscript, August 9 and 17.

³⁰ For an example, consult the June 15 minutes in the Yale manuscript, where is found the marginal note, "See them in debates June 15", with the later addition "taken by J. M.". Madison qualified his original reference to the *Debates* to distinguish the Patterson resolutions taken down by himself from those furnished by Brearley to Adams and appearing in the printed *Journal*.

introductory sentences for the proposals of each man. Hence, the line in the manuscript came from a comparison with the *Debates*, and the pasted slip was composed of what had been in the *Debates* and what was found in the manuscript. The slip was not copied from the Adams edition because it differs from the latter on at least three words and in punctuation, while agreeing throughout with the manuscript text.

Similarly, on August 20 Madison's *Debates* originally contained Pinckney's resolutions but not those of Morris. A "See the Journal" was later added, the whole stricken out, and the resolutions were copied from the manuscript on a slip of paper and pasted into the *Debates*. As before, at the end of the Morris resolutions in the manuscript appears a line, not to be found in Jackson, indicating where the copying was to stop. And again the slip was probably not copied from the Adams edition of Jackson's *Journal*, because it agrees in every vital particular with the reading given in the manuscript and differs from the other on three words and in punctuation. The two slips of August 18 and 20 resemble each other also in quality of paper and color of ink, and therefore appear to have been made at the same time.

Investigation of the original *Debates* manuscript, now lodged in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, shows that among the mass of corrections, interlineations, and insertions in the text made by Madison in the course of his revisions are twenty-two such pasted slips, varying in length from three to more than thirty lines. Of these, two were clearly copied from the Adams edition of the *Journal*, as one contains a direct reference to the "printed Journal" and the other a record of votes. The manuscript, it will be remembered, lacks precisely this feature of the original *Journal*. Two more were evidently copied from notes in the original appendix of the *Debates*; and a third pair ³¹ are very doubtful, as they resemble the manuscript in text but contain votes (possibly added later). All the remaining sixteen may have come from the manuscript. The textual differences between Madison's copy and the Adams printed edition are so slight that it is often impossible to be sure; but those of August 18 and 20 were certainly copied from the manuscript. In the case of at least seven others ³² the same thing seems altogether probable, and with the remaining seven quite possible. At all events, eighteen of the slips resemble one another and those of August 18 and 20 in texture of paper and color of ink.

³¹ June 15 and July 25; May 25 and May 28; June 1 and June 12.

³² May 30, July 5, 12, 13, 16, 17, August 20.

The inference is that most, perhaps as many as twenty, of these slips were pasted in before Madison secured his copy of the Adams edition in 1820, as after that date Madison would have copied from the more authoritative printed text rather than from his own incomplete manuscript. The evidence, however, is even more specific and points to an early date for these additions to the *Debates*. For twenty of these slips the ink is fairly uniform, and the paper is of the "laid" type universally used about 1789 or 1790. Madison might have saved some of this paper until a later time, it is true, but it is a noteworthy fact that only for the two slips which from their text must have been copied from the Adams edition is the ink distinctive and the paper of the "woven" variety prevalent in the 'twenties of the last century. Unfortunately the slips were cut down by Madison so that all but one of the watermarks are gone, but in the one case where the watermark still remains it proves to be the same as that of the paper used in the original *Debates* for the record of the last days of the Convention.³³ The evidence tends to show, therefore, that at a very early date, either during the winter of 1789 or within a few years thereafter, Madison actually carried out his intention and used his copy of the *Journal* to correct and supplement his *Debates*.

An examination of the first few pages of the *Debates* manuscript indicates, as well, that a few of the many insertions, which Madison made directly in the text, may have been added at about the same time, either from the manuscript (as in the case of the additional rules in the record for May 29), or from Madison's memory or from some other source (as illustrated by the note on the letter from the men of Rhode Island in the record for May 28). A full study of this question has yet to be made. Enough has been said, however, to show that whenever a published edition of the *Debates* indicates that a correction appears in the original text, and especially whenever such a correction is marked as "revised" or "copied" from the *Journal*, it has to be determined whether the addition came from the *Journal* at all, and, if so, whether it came from the 1819 Adams edition, or from the earlier manuscript copy, of Jackson's record. Whenever a crossed-out reference to "the *Journal*" is found in the *Debates*, the presumption is in favor of the insertion having been an early one. Whenever, on the contrary, the addition follows a reference to "the printed *Journal*", or contains votes, or is written in the

³³ The watermark is "BUDGEN". The one pasted slip which has a watermark contains the Rules of the Convention. The arrangement and the text of the Rules on this slip are such as almost to preclude the possibility of their having been copied from the printed *Journal*.

rich brown or dark gray inks characteristic of the post-Adams period of revision, it was almost certainly written in the 'twenties. Though an exact estimate is as yet impossible, it would appear that perhaps five per cent. of the entries and as much as fifteen per cent. of all the material added during the course of years—many of the slips are quite long—belong to the early period of revision, about 1789, and came from the manuscript; while the rest of the corrections were probably inserted after Madison retired from the Presidency. At best these conclusions are somewhat tentative, but if ever Jefferson's copy of the *Debates* (1795–1796?) comes to light, it should be found to include many of these slips and corrections in its running text.

The significance of these investigations into the composition of the *Debates* is two-fold. It will be recalled that although it has been realized that several sets of revisions were made by Madison in his *Debates*, the general supposition has been that almost all the corrections were made during the 1820's.³⁴ And those additions which could obviously be traced to Jackson's *Journal* were assumed, naturally, to have come from the 1819 Adams edition of it. From this it has been argued that these corrections, made at least thirty-three years after the event, have only the single authority of the source whence they were borrowed plus the doubtful authority of an old man's failing memory, and that they therefore carry less weight than the original text of the *Debates*, while the *Debates* as a whole are not so reliable as has been supposed.³⁵

Now, however, it appears that a considerable fraction of the additions may have been early ones, and that most of the really long insertions—totalling possibly one-sixth of the whole increment—came to the *Debates* from the *Journal* by an entirely different channel, the Yale manuscript acting as an alimentary conduit at a time when Madison's memory was still fresh and selective. Madison was, it is true, such a faithful copyist that the meaning of these passages (and the sense of the Convention) can scarcely be said to have been altered by his copying them twice in the process of transfer; they differ hardly at all from the way they would have read had he borrowed them from the printed edition thirty years later. But the authority of these passages and the trustworthiness of the *Debates* on these points is undoubtedly strengthened.

The conclusion is, then, that this manuscript is a valuable Madison holograph and an authentic copy of Jackson's *Journal* of the Federal

³⁴ Farrand, *op. cit.*, I. xiv.

³⁵ Farrand, *op. cit.*, I. xv–xix, especially the bottom of page xvi, top of page xvii, and footnote 20 on page xviii.

Convention, which was made because of, and used to remedy, the defects and omissions Madison found in his *Debates*. Its intimate connection with the two greatest records of the Convention, the information it gives about Washington, and the light it throws on the scholarly methods of Madison make it a suggestive historical document. Particularly, it would seem that students of the sources of the Federal Convention may not in the future overlook the evidence this manuscript presents: first, that Madison was almost from the beginning in possession of the contents of the *Journal*; and secondly, that the *Debates* were pretty extensively revised within a few years after the Convention closed.

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ECONOMIC IDEAS AND FACTS IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF THE RISORGIMENTO (1815-1848)

THE modern student who devotes himself to an attentive study of the standard histories of the unification of Italy soon feels the need of a less strictly political description of the Risorgimento than that which they offer him. The purely political history of the Risorgimento has a discouragingly episodal character, at least until Cavour comes on the scene. The outbreaks of 1820, 1848, and 1859-1860 reveal an unmistakable crescendo in the force of the national movement. But a satisfactory account of the development of that movement in the long intervals between crises is lacking. In the attempt to provide one, the best of the historians, from Tivaroni to Rosi, flounder amid episodes, and end with giving excessive emphasis to isolated acts of patriotic heroism which are far more impressive in retrospect than they could possibly have been in their immediate practical effect. One feels that the main stream must have been taking another course. This feeling is deepened when one contemplates the strength and consistency of the party that rallied to Cavour and the National Society in the period between 1852 and 1859. Such a party could not have been created in a day or even by such a magician as Cavour. To find the main stream, to understand the strength of this party, it is necessary to go back to the period when Cavour and his generation were coming of age, the period between 1815 and 1848; and one realizes at once that their education could not have been political, but was the product of forces primarily economic and social. They were excluded from the political scene, the young men of that generation; or they rushed into it only to make martyrs of themselves. Economic and social questions they were free to discuss openly. They did so with competence and a fine ardor and with a remarkable consistency of direction; and through their discussion they developed a compact and intelligent body of public opinion on which the success of Cavour's masterly project was based.

If one studies this period of preparation, previous to 1848, leaving on one side the revolutionary propaganda of Mazzini and the semi-religious propaganda of Gioberti, one finds that two powerful currents entered into the education of the new generation. One was a current of thought, the other a current of fact, of circumstance. Let us take them in order.

One of the striking phenomena of Italian life in the period 1815-1848 was an earnest discussion of the economic and social interests

of the several states of Italy, and of the nation as a whole. This discussion was accompanied by the evolution of a group of publicists. They were recruited from the aristocracy and the middle class. Though originally separated by the barriers that divided their nation into eight thought-proof compartments, they started from a common point of view, a common philosophic preconception. This was economic liberalism. They attached themselves to the school that had been founded by Adam Smith, and that was being carried on by Ricardo, McCulloch, and Mill in England, and by Jean Baptiste Say and Sismondi in France. In their own tradition its doctrines had been brilliantly represented by such writers as Genovesi, Beccaria, Carli, and Verri in the eighteenth century, and were receiving fresh elaboration and criticism at the hands of Melchiorre Gioja and Gian Domenico Romagnosi when they themselves came on the stage. They were free traders, and believed in the doctrine and all of its corollaries with a semi-religious faith; they were humanitarians; and finally, they belonged to the "cult of progress" and were animated by the conviction that the nineteenth was the greatest of centuries, destined to witness an unexampled advance in what they enthusiastically called "civilization".

The master-mind of this movement of thought in Italy was Gian Domenico Romagnosi (1761-1835). It was he who gave it the peculiar turn that it took in Italy. The secret of his powerful influence is not to be found in his cumbrous and difficult writings, but in his magnetism as a teacher. He was the Socrates of a group of young scholars, aristocrats, and *borghesi*, which centered at Milan and included Confalonieri, Luigi Azimonti (the Milanese sugar magnate), and such brilliant young thinkers as Carlo Cattaneo, Cesare Correnti, Carlo Tenca, Giuseppe Ferrari, and Cesare Cantù. Romagnosi indoctrinated them with an idea upon which they eagerly seized as the foundation of a patriotic program, namely: that of the inseparability of economic, social, and political processes. An anti-Utopist, Romagnosi insisted that any political order is a function of existing economic and social conditions. He believed furthermore that free institutions, and the unified nation, were the necessary expression of nineteenth century civilization in Europe. Once the condition of society was ripe, and the necessity for a government in harmony with it was generally felt, a political revolution would be inevitable; and unless it came thus naturally, it would fail to produce enduring results. The task for the present, then, was progress in "civilization" and a general discussion of it. Given these, freedom and nationality would follow as day follows night.

Seeking an outlet for this gospel the group of young men to which I have referred acquired organs of expression in a type of journalism which had first appeared in Italy under the French and which they now revived. It was a combination of the journal of literature and of "useful knowledge". The series may be said to have begun with the ill-fated *Conciliatore*, edited by Silvio Pellico, and snuffed out by the Austrian government in 1819. But it assumed a fuller development in such periodicals as *L'Antologia*, published by Vieusseux at Florence between 1821 and 1832, and the *Annali Universali di Statistica*, of Milan, which was founded in 1824 and continued to flourish throughout the period.¹ This journalism reached its maturest expression in the well-known *Politecnico*,² founded by Cattaneo in 1839, and the *Rivista Europea* (1838 ff.), edited by Carlo Tenca, which absorbed the *Politecnico* in 1845.

These journals ambitiously aimed to launch their readers into the full current not only of Italian but of European life. They soon brought about an exchange of views and information. This in turn operated to confer a more than local reputation on certain figures who distinguished themselves as leaders in liberal thought, or in public action that was in harmony with it. This included, with the Lombard group whom I have mentioned, such men as Raffaele Lambruschini, Ricasoli and Ridolfi at Florence; the Balbos, Prospero and Cesare, Giovanetti, and eventually Camillo Cavour, in Piedmont. Finally, the discussion led to the definition of objectives, which, at first vaguely patriotic, eventually took the form of a definite and well-recognized program of national action.

Such, in general terms, was the journalistic phase of that action which D'Azeglio so admirably defined as a "conspiracy in the open sun".

The spirit in which patriotic young Italians dedicated themselves to these journals may best be represented by the following passage from a letter of Cesare Correnti to a friend in 1876:

Forty years ago . . . our venerable master, G. D. Romagnosi, had begun to see how the science of statistics might be a weapon less worn and blunted than historical lamentations and poetical anathemas manipulated by so many—so well and so uselessly. For this reason I resigned myself, an impatient conscript, to the discussion of averages, tables and numbers, which gave us a chance to talk in jargon and in a cipher, and to withdraw ourselves from the mutilation of the censorship, accustomed

¹ The full title with which this journal was launched is instructive: *Annali Universali di Statistica, Economia Pubblica* [the term *politica* was studiously avoided], *Storia, Viaggi e Commercio*.

² *Il Politecnico: Repertorio Mensile di Studi Applicati alla Prosperità e Cultura Sociale*.

as it was from long usage to sniff only at phrases and epithets. The thing was done. Numbers spoke their language only to those who knew how to read their hidden meanings: true language of mutes! Sometimes these guesses piqued the curiosity; sometimes one felt in them a reflection of poetry, a correspondence of sound to sense more intimate and more intellectual than the casual chiming of rhymes.³

By 1847 this intellectual group had not only become self-conscious and well organized, but had come to be united by a program. The foundations of this program were certain convictions about the nature of social progress. The corner stone was free trade, in all its implications—among which was a firm belief in commerce as a good in itself, as the great vivifying element in civilization. The liberal publicists sought therefore to stimulate commerce in Italy—by good roads, canals, free ports, steam navigation; by joint stock corporations, insurance companies, and modern banks; by the removal of tariffs and the introduction of uniform weights, measures, and coinage—by every possible means, until the circulation of goods and ideas would acquire a force that would sweep away all barriers of ignorance and municipalism. They desired to promote industrialism by the dissemination of technical science and new inventions; but, horrified by the social misery that had attended the sudden revolution in England and France, they were not ready to go fast in that direction; and some wished to exclude the new industrialism altogether. They were one in recognizing agriculture as the great industry of Italy; and in this field their aim was to substitute the new science for its blind empiricism, and to inject into its sluggish practices the stimulant of the new chemistry, physics, and zoölogy, elaborating for this purpose the precepts of a popular technology, and a program of agricultural societies, model farms, and rural education. They showed the deepest interest in all humanitarian enterprises designed to promote the thrift and enlightenment of the poor and give them a social stake in the coming prosperity: such institutions as savings banks, free public schools, Sunday and holiday schools and kindergartens of the type founded by Owen in England for the children of laborers. In all these enterprises they saw means of promoting that blessed “spirit of association” which they felt to be so lacking in their nation, and which they believed to be the key to all the good things of modern life. In short, sanely recognizing the fact that Italian life must grow in its own way, they aimed to liberate it, and seriously and competently set themselves to the task of exposing it to all the fertilizing influences of modern civilization.

³ Massarani, T., *Cesare Correnti nella sua Vita e nelle sue Opere* (Rome, 1900), pp. 62–63.

Such a program embodied in fact a consummate strategy. Many, in fact most, of its specific desiderata could be granted by the governments of Italy without a radical departure from their conservative and anti-national policy. Such for instance were free schools, good roads, local railways, the encouragement of agriculture and industry. But it will be seen at once that taken as a whole the program could not be realized without a reconstitution of the political order. If the princes of Italy pledged themselves to it, they would be admitting a camel into their tent. The first step to free trade was a pan-Italian customs union; the indispensable condition of a flourishing commerce was a truly national railway net; the only régime under which a free circulation of technical knowledge and a development of the precious spirit of association was imaginable was one from which the devils of censorship, police suspicions, and bureaucrats had been cast out. A strong group of the propagandists of the journals realized this with an increasing confidence in the strength of their cause. Shunning violence on principle, placing a noble confidence in the force of ideas, and in the irresistible power of economic and social necessities, once thoroughly felt, to break through all barriers, they worked their way forward within the irritating bounds imposed by the law. But there is no doubt of their intimate purpose, which was to create a new Italy. Cesare Correnti, publishing in the *Annali*, from 1840 onwards, articles passed by the Austrian censor, could in 1847 launch anonymously, from the same editorial desk, his terrific indictment *L'Austria e la Lombardia*, proclaiming his deliberate conviction that the Austrian government "in every circumstance is our enemy by nature, by choice and by necessity".

It is evident that in this journalistic propaganda, from its inception, were implicit the spirit and ideas of the well-known program of the moderate party as formulated by Balbo and D'Azeglio and its other representatives from 1844 to 1848. One finds in it the same sane opportunism, the same idealization of "legality", the same "active resignation", based on the conviction that sound and durable progress was possible only in so far as it was supported by a widespread sense of common interest and necessity, intelligently recognized by the public and therefore by the princes themselves, if they would face the facts, as a proper object of policy. One also finds, gradually developing, the specific items of a political program as answering to these necessities. These were brought together and formulated clearly by Cesare Balbo in his *Speranze d'Italia* (1844), and summed up by Massimo d'Azeglio in his *Proposta di un Programma per l'Opinione Nazionale* (1847). In these great "Primary

Works of the Risorgimento" anyone who has paged such a journal as the *Annali* from 1824 onwards finds nothing new except the political emphasis. The reforms that had been discussed for twenty years were merely invested with a frankly political character by Balbo, Durando, D'Azeglio, Cavour, and by the course of events after 1840 which pointed to an impending opportunity for action.

It was not only by a gathering stream of propaganda that the minds of Cavour's future associates in the task of reconstituting Italy were formed. Behind that propaganda was a pressure—the pressure of a changing environment, of the forces of a revolution in the economic and social order, which experience as well as books and journals brought home "to their business and their bosoms". Journals like the *Annali* aimed to provide their readers with a mirror of this new and changing world, or more precisely, a burning glass which would concentrate its rays upon the public consciousness which they were striving to foment in Italy. What were the facts that loomed up before them as the most imposing and influential?

The foremost was the advent of industrialism, mechanical and capitalistic. This meant England, Belgium, France, and the United States. England was a theme on which the writers of the *Annali* never tired of descanting—England "so industrious, commercially so active, so enterprising, so powerful, in a word the mistress of the earth".⁴ Where else prevailed that "union of knowledge, of interests, of power of all sorts that are to be found at London, at Manchester, at Liverpool?"⁵ No pains were spared to bring home to the reader the tremendous phenomenon. He received a full and competent delineation of England's factories, her trade, banks, finances, poor laws, schools, prisons, cities, political institutions, her possessions overseas. He was familiarized with the idea that the new industrialism was a revolutionary force, that it required a root-and-branch reconstruction of society; and furthermore, that having started in one country it was bound to spread throughout Europe.⁶

If industrialism was impressive, not less so was its inevitable concomitant, the railroad. At first the Italian writers assumed the

⁴ *Annali* (1833), Bulletin, p. 431.

⁵ *Annali*, I. (1824), 233-236.

⁶ The compilers of the *Annali* pointed out that even the attempt to exclude British manufactures by means of high tariffs only contributed to the spread of industrialism elsewhere. "One sees that in spite of all obstacles which seem to oppose the new European system, the commerce of [France] goes on expanding, as does that of Germany and other states, precisely because since 1814 everyone seeks to exclude, and with his own means to imitate, Great Britain." *Annali*, X. (1826), 282-283.

attitude of curious spectators.⁷ But their conversion was rapid. By 1830 they were eagerly reporting every step in the progress of the invention abroad. After 1835, when Austria began to build railways,⁸ the discussion became urgent and practical; and it entered the phase of full commitment with Cattaneo's famous article, published in the *Annali* in 1836: "Researches on the Project of a Railroad from Milan to Venice",⁹ a project authorized in February, 1837.

The discussion was the more fervid as the writers soon realized that the railroad was the most powerful instrument yet found to advance all of their ulterior purposes both economic and political. They saw in it the triumphant vindication of their philosophy that progress is not a dream, but a fact imposed "by the science of interests".¹⁰ The locomotive would make free trade, at least within the Italian peninsula, a necessity.¹¹ And after 1840 it began clearly to be seen that the locomotive, if properly directed, was the greatest of national revolutionists, and might be made to "stitch the boot". This is the idea that dominates the discussion of railroads in Balbo's *Delle Speranze d'Italia* (1844), in Petitti's *Delle Strade Ferrate Italiane e del miglior Ordinamento di esse* (1845), and in the famous review of Petitti's work by Cavour in *La Revue Nouvelle* (May, 1846).

While the liberals were discussing the railroad, the steamship began to trail its smoke across the Mediterranean. Steam navigation brought in its train a consequence that was quickly apprehended as having a tremendous importance for Italy. For it was seen to be drawing the line of communication between England and the East back from the Atlantic and the Cape of Good Hope, to which this had shifted in the Renaissance, leaving Italy to languish, and to be restoring it to the Mediterranean, to the very gates of the Italian cities. The British government became deeply interested in finding a way through the Levant, by Egypt or by the Euphrates. In 1835 the *Annali* announced that in March the British had established a monthly service of steamships from London to Alexandria; connecting with the East India Company's steam packets from Suez to Bombay.¹² By 1835 the traffic of dispatches and passengers from the whole Continent, including England, to the East was passing through

⁷ In 1827 a reviewer could write: "Perhaps the epoch is still distant when Italy can profit by this kind of resource." B . . . i in *Annali*, XI. (1827), 229.

⁸ Stern, *Geschichte Europas*, VI. 10.

⁹ *Annali*, XLVIII. (1836), 283-332.

¹⁰ For this argument see Balbo, C., *Delle Speranze d'Italia* (Paris, 1844), Appendix.

¹¹ Cattaneo, in *Annali*, XLVIII. (1836), 304-305.

¹² *Annali*, XLV. (1835), 150.

France to Marseilles, thence by French packet boats to Alexandria.¹³ Austria bid for a share of this traffic at Trieste, and that port grew by leaps and bounds on its trade with the Levant.

The Italian writers watched all these changes with an increasingly anxious sense of the need for prompt and radical action to give Italy its proper place in relation to them. An Italy without partitions must be thrown open to the transit trade between East and West. A railroad line must be built from the Rhine to Genoa to enable that port to compete with Marseilles and Trieste, or better still, a peninsular line from the Alps to Brindisi, which would make Italy once more the thoroughfare between Europe and the East. The effect of this great shift in the trade route to the Orient upon the national consciousness of the Italian publicists can hardly be overemphasized. It placed Italy, with its antiquated institutions, squarely in the midst of "the new European system". The realization of this reacted on the discussion of railroads, making a truly national network seem imperative; and contributed powerfully to a sense of the urgent necessity of modernizing both the economic and the political equipment of the nation.

Another fact made a profound impression on the Italian journalists as they looked out upon the new Europe, and that was the German Zollverein. The *Annali* hailed the news of the meeting at Berlin in September, 1833, which insured its completion with the exclamation: "Heaven grant that like combinations may be proposed and adopted for the states of Italy!"¹⁴ The event gave a tremendous impulse to the discussion of an Italian customs league. The Zollverein supplied the propagandists of liberalism with an invaluable weapon, for it was a fact that could be discussed openly; it was a working model of what they wanted; it was furthermore a measure at once indispensable to the success of the railways that were being built, and inseparable from the idea of a national network and the dream of making this a link in the transit to the East; finally, the Zollverein indicated a step, counselled by obvious practical interests, which must inevitably be accompanied by an act of political association, and which would, they believed, throw open the doors to Liberty and Union.

The European scene was changing, and we have abundant evidence that in Italy a powerful intellectual minority were eagerly and hopefully studying this revolution; but also in Italy itself the economic and social order was undergoing changes in the critical

¹³ *Annali*, LXI. (1839), 145-165.

¹⁴ *Annali* (1833), Bulletin, p. 463.

period between 1815 and 1848. This is not the place for a description of them, and the materials for an adequate description are still painfully scanty. With the scarcity of good studies, and in a few words, one can only offer some cautious generalizations.

In the first place, it is sufficiently clear that when the Italian states were swept by the first war of independence, in 1848, their industries had only begun to feel the effect of the economic revolution that was transforming those of northern Europe. Agriculture retained an immense preponderance. Nevertheless there was an industrial movement. The factory, though still comparatively rare, had entered the scene; and modern machinery was being introduced and multiplied. The force of this statement is not seriously weakened when one adds that it is applicable only to Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont, and with much less emphasis to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

Also commerce was increasing. It is true that internal circulation of any scope was almost paralyzed by the customs barriers and bad roads, and that commercial speculation was characterized by extreme caution, even in Lombardy where capital was the most abundant. Nevertheless there was movement. In Lombardy-Venetia and Piedmont great transalpine highways were opened, and in Tuscany and Naples, as well as in these states, the period saw a new skeleton system of main roads constructed, and in Lombardy an admirable network connecting these with the rural communes. A steadily increasing mass of goods was cleared at the ancient fairs of Brescia, Bergamo, and Sinigaglia; and the shipments of silk to Switzerland, England, France, Germany, and Russia assumed very considerable proportions. The statistics of the seaports tell the same story of expansion. Insurance companies were established; joint-stock corporations, savings banks, and banks of discount were introduced; and these institutions gave a facility to the mobilization of capital which Italy had not known since the Renaissance. In commerce as in industry it was a period of beginnings, but there was movement.

Finally, in all of the states of Italy agriculture was showing signs of progress—a progress that was a phase in a profound revolution. This had begun in the eighteenth century as a result of the steady pressure of population on the means of subsistence and the general rise in the price of foodstuffs.¹⁵ It received a great impulse under the French régime with the abolition of feudalism, the sale of church lands, and the application of a code of law that exalted the rights of the small proprietor. It is important to note that in this field the

¹⁵ For a pioneer study of the influence of this and other factors in Piedmont, see the invaluable study of Prato, G., *L'Evoluzione Agricola nel Secolo XVIII. e le Cause Economiche dei Moti del 1792-98 in Piemonte* (Turin, 1909).

Restoration did not seriously disturb the Napoleonic system, at least in the important states of Italy, and the remnants of the old order went on disappearing. Land had become negotiable, and the class of small proprietors multiplied. The result, on the economic side, was the application of individual initiative to the problems of agricultural production. The effect on the social order was to promote an interpenetration of the old nobility with a new proprietary bourgeoisie, which made itself felt as those who had acquired capital in trade or by their labor bought up the land or rented it for speculative purposes. This fact must be kept constantly in mind for it is the key to the social complexion of Italy in the states that were the true centers of the *Risorgimento*. The proprietors resided, not on the soil, but in the towns and cities, and therefore formed a bourgeoisie, which was conservative, but which was profoundly attached by its interests to the principle of private property and free contract. It was therefore readily penetrated by the economic liberalism which dominated the thought of the intellectuals, and which was founded on the principle of personal responsibility and individual rights. With this gradual social transformation came the introduction of the new scientific technique, eagerly adopted and disseminated by the great liberal proprietors like Porro, Confalonieri, Ridolfi and Ricasoli, Cavour and Balbo, and vigorously propagated by the new journalism and by the agricultural societies, such as the *Georgofili* of Tuscany, and the *Associazione Agraria* of Piedmont.

It is not as yet possible, as I have already remarked, to ascertain precisely the extent of the economic changes that occurred in Italy during the *Risorgimento*. But far more important than a description of those changes are the beliefs about them that were commonly entertained, for it was the picture of them in the mind of the contemporary observer, and not the picture that we can piece together only with difficulty after a century, that determined action. Regarding this our evidence is full and positive. However slight the measurable progress of Italian industry, commerce, and agriculture, the young liberals of Cavour's generation, seeing it as a part of the great revolution that was transforming Europe, attached a tremendous significance to it. Most of them, with their fine dream of human perfectibility, hailed it with joy and eager impatience. But the important fact is that, whether optimistic or not, the liberals were united in representing it to themselves and to their readers as an inexorable destiny. Cattaneo, flaying the opponents of the Milan-Venice railway in 1836, writes: "If they do not want to build it now, they will have to build it later. . . . Willing or unwilling they will

have to obey the force of the times which stands over us inexorable.”¹⁶ Another writes: “This utility . . . by the law of levels . . . assumes inevitably the character of a necessity.”¹⁷ And nothing is more important, in this contemporary discussion, than the rapidly increasing insistence of the note of urgency. The Italians must align themselves with the general movement or be ruined. “In the present state of Europe the *status quo* is the ruin of a nation.”¹⁸ “Those who do not progress with the times will by the times be overtaken, overthrown and punished.”¹⁹ This insistence upon the need of immediate action reaches its climax in Balbo’s *Speranze*: “In these years about the middle of the nineteenth century, perhaps in the few that remain of its fifth decade, our future, commercial, industrial and agricultural, will be decided for centuries and centuries. These are the climacteric years of the public economy of all the nations of Europe, but more than all for that of Italy.” For Italy it is a race, a question of “seizing the single advantage that remains to us”, the providential advantage of a position on the “reopened thoroughfare to the Orient”.²⁰

Finally, to understand the relatively rapid penetration and triumph of the propaganda that I have been describing, one must take into account not only the changes in the fabric of Italian society, and the change in Italy’s position with reference to the rest of Europe, but also the attitude of the aristocracy of the Italian states, and later, the action of the princes. The Italian communities remaining predominantly agricultural were profoundly conservative. They would not have responded to the leadership of a parvenue bourgeoisie, and it is therefore a fact of capital importance that from 1815 onwards a group of young nobles devoted themselves to the propagation of “improvements” and of the order of ideas associated with them. They traveled in England and France; they gave of their wealth to introduce the new technique, to found schools and savings banks, to finance new enterprises, to form charitable associations that would bring into coöperation men of all classes and awaken a civic spirit. When, in the ’forties, the princes, the natural leaders of the aristocracy, began to move; when, above all, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, adopted new civil and commercial codes, reduced the Piedmontese customs duties, projected a railroad, and founded a bank of discount, such steps were immediately interpreted in terms

¹⁶ *Annali*, XLVIII. (1836), 331.

¹⁷ *Annali*, LIV. (1837), 313.

¹⁸ *Annali*, LII. (1837), 271.

¹⁹ *Annali*, LXXVII. (1843), 271.

²⁰ Balbo, C., *op. cit.*, p. 310.

of the whole program of action which had been elaborated and discussed for twenty years and which was inseparably connected with the thought of political liberalism; and the princes almost immediately found themselves caught in an avalanche which swept them towards constitutionalism and union. And in the accompanying outburst of national feeling, the intellectual leadership passed as by right into the hands of those who seemed to be triumphantly vindicated in their affirmation that "independence is not a cry of revolution but a principle of political economy". The hour of the Moderates had arrived.

With the yielding of the princes, the "Moderates"—for by that name was called the party that had rallied to the ideas that I have been discussing—were suddenly swept into the field of political action. Here their lack of experience and of a previous opportunity for free discussion told heavily against them. These shortcomings combined with municipal and sectional jealousies, and with the apathy and clericalism of the masses, to produce the dissensions, the disorientation, and the swift and tragic failures of 1848–1849. But the long campaign of free discussion in the economic field had done its good work. It had cleared the air, and produced a unanimity of sentiment regarding the fundamental principles of economic and social reforms. Between 1852 and 1859 Cavour could carry out a program of such reforms on which substantial agreement had already been reached. For him remained only the task—and a Herculean one it was!—of finding the political and diplomatic combinations that the necessities of the new situation required. It was a factor of the greatest importance in his success that for eighteen years before his political début, as a commercial farmer, tramping the fields at Leri in his "enormous straw hat", he had felt in all of its practical urgency the need of a reconstruction; and as a liberal "of the first hour", active journalist from 1843, editor of the *Risorgimento* in 1847, and therefore a brother craftsman in the group of liberal propagandists, he fully shared their vision, and was recognized by them as one of themselves.

The current of thought which I have sought to define, as distinct from those dominated by the nationalistic idealism of Mazzini, and the Neo-Guelf idealism of Gioberti, together with the gradual changes in the Italian economic and social order on which the hopes of this movement were founded, presents a field of research that has remained unexploited and that is far from being the dusty scrapheap of statistics which it might seem at first sight. It involves the study of a philosophy and of social and political action in the broadest

sense; and it brings into view a most interesting and instructive variant of the liberal democratic movement of the century. Although the theme has been curiously underemphasized by the Italian historians, a foundation has been laid by the precious studies of Ciasca, Prato, Pugliese, Rota, and Tarlé.²¹ What is now most needed is a series of monographic studies which will reveal, state by state, the nature and extent of the social and economic changes that took place in the critical period between 1815 and 1848, and will relate these to the thought of the liberal group whose writings determined the impression that they made. The material is abundant in Italy, and is sufficient for a good beginning in such substantial Risorgimento collections as those at Harvard and Yale. The student who approaches it with a sufficiently broad "discourse of reason" could make a most useful and interesting contribution to the history of nineteenth century Europe.

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²¹ Ciasca, R., *L'Origine del 'Programma per l'Opinione Nazionale Italiana' del 1847-48*, in the *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, serie VIII. n. 3 (Rome-Milan-Naples, 1916); Prato, *L'Evoluzione Agricola nel Secolo XVIII. e le Cause Economiche dei Moti del 1792-1798 in Piemonte* (Turin, 1909); also, by the same author, *La Vita Economica in Piemonte a Mezzo il Secolo XVIII.* (Turin, 1908); and his *Fatti e Dottrine Economiche alla Vigilia del 1848* in *Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente*, IX. (Turin, 1921)—a study centered on the Piedmontese Agrarian Association of 1842, but of extraordinary suggestiveness and scope; Pugliese, S., *Condizioni Economiche e Finanziarie della Lombardia nella prima Metà del Secolo XVIII.* (Turin, 1924); Rota, E., *L'Austria in Lombardia e la Preparazione del Movimento Democratico-Cisalpino*, in *Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano*, serie VI. no. 10, 1911; Tarlé, E., *Le Blocus Continental et le Royaume d'Italie.—la Situation Économique de l'Italie sous Napoléon I.* (Paris, 1928).

THE REHABILITATION OF A RURAL COMMONWEALTH¹

WE North Carolinians are a modest people. Indeed, our modesty is our favorite boast. We love to think of North Carolina as "a valley of humility between two mountains of conceit"—but we love still more to brag about it. That is what we call our "honest pride". We, of course, fully understand and appreciate our real worth. The Cherokee Indians, who once inhabited a large part of North Carolina, had no such word as "Cherokee" in their own language; they called themselves the Aní-Yûñ'-Wiyá—that is, the "real people" or the "principal people". They were true Carolinians. It was this same modest appreciation of ourselves, doubtless, that inspired the chairman of your program committee—himself the most modest of North Carolinians—to select the topic for this evening's address. Irvin Cobb once said that North Carolina's greatest need is a press agent; Professor Boyd evidently hopes to supply the need by recruits from the American Historical Association. Gentlemen, North Carolina expects every man to do his duty!

As for myself, I confess to no little embarrassment at the part assigned to me in this conspiracy. Really, it seems to smack too much of that form of egotism which inspires a man to invite you to his house in order to talk about himself. That offends the feeling of humility which I inherited in so marked a degree from the O'Connors of County Cork. To mitigate the offense as much as possible, therefore, I shall ask you to think of this address as a part of the program of the general session that is to follow. That program deals with certain economic and social phases of the recent and contemporary South. Let us think, therefore, of North Carolina merely as a typical Southern state, and bear in mind that what may be said of it is applicable, in varying degrees, to all the other Southern states. It at least reconciles me to my part in this affair to pretend that a discussion of certain recent and contemporary aspects of this one state may contribute to a clearer understanding of the recent and contemporary South as a whole.

Since 1876 the life of the South has been influenced chiefly by its heritages from civil war and its aftermath. First among these heritages, in my judgment, was the loss of self-confidence. In 1860

¹ An address delivered at the North Carolina meeting of the American Historical Association.

the South challenged the power of the nation in full confidence of victory; the result did not justify its faith, and from its crushing defeat and subsequent humiliation the South emerged with an obsession of failure which undermined its confidence in its capacity for leadership and achievement and has made it content to accept a lower position in the national life than the ante bellum South would have tolerated.

The effect of this heritage of failure has been accentuated by the heritage of poverty. The poverty of the South is concrete evidence of its failure, and poverty is never conducive to a feeling of self-confidence. Military defeat left the South prostrate and bankrupt, but it did not destroy its natural resources, nor impair the reserve powers of its people. Had they been left free to work out their own salvation, they would doubtless have quickly repaired their material losses; but this was not to be; it did not suit the purposes of their conquerors. Reconstruction followed, and Reconstruction meant not only political, but also economic and social destruction. The South was thus compelled to begin the process of rebuilding at the bottom. That process was slow and difficult. In 1890 the per capita wealth of North Carolina, \$361.00, was exactly the same as it was in 1860, and North Carolina was typical of the South as a whole. In 1900 the wealth of the South was less than twice what it was in 1860, but while the South was thus barely recovering its lost ground, the rest of the country was multiplying its wealth sevenfold. We call the contemporary South wealthy; it is so, however, only by comparison with itself of half a century ago; its economic life is still on a lower plane than that of the country as a whole.

The South's economic development has been retarded by its political heritage from "The Tragic Era". The revival of business and agriculture depended upon political peace and stability and the restoration of the Southern states to their proper place in the Federal Union. Reconstruction made both impossible. It gave the South a unique problem that for two generations absorbed its political genius and drew a sharp distinction between it and the rest of the country. The granting of political power to the negro, without making provisions for training him in its proper exercise, lowered the whole tone of Southern politics, while the attempt to force the forms of democracy upon a people ignorant of its essence made the practice of democracy impossible. The white South believed itself justified in saving its civilization by any method, and Ku Kluxism followed in the wake of negro suffrage. Moreover, unrestricted negro suffrage forced the South into an anomalous position in the Union, and

for fifty years caused it to feel the power of the Federal government chiefly as a restrictive and coercive force. The Federal Congress forced negro rule upon the South at the point of the bayonet; the Federal courts became the chief instruments of its degradation; and the Federal executive was usually represented here by officials who could seldom command either respect or confidence in their communities. A Republican President, the present Chief Justice of the United States,² once declared that the custom of appointment by "a distant appointing power" of "men to perform official functions in a community politically hostile to those men" was one of the chief political evils under which the South has suffered. After 1865, except for rare and brief intervals, the South was rigidly excluded from high administrative positions in the Federal government; even today, sixty-five years after Appomattox, it is without such representation. The South is in the Union, but not of it, and Southerners are still made to feel as strangers in the house of their fathers. Excluded from national affairs, morbidly sensitive to a local problem that separated them from the rest of the country, Southerners inevitably became politically introspective and provincial. Thus what was once the most nationally minded section of the country ceased to think nationally—and the Nation pays the piper!

To the heritages of failure, of poverty, and of provincialism, let us add one other—the most perplexing, the most difficult, the most all-absorbing problem, I venture to assert, that any people ever had to deal with. I mean, of course, the race problem. I do not mean the negro. The negro has always been with us, but the negro in slavery presented no race problem. The race problem is a heritage of civil war and Reconstruction. It followed emancipation with its consequent problem of the status of the free black man in a white man's civilization. The race question sets the South apart; it permeates every phase of Southern life; it is, indeed, the one thing in the South from which even the casual visitor can not escape.

The South, conscious of the handicap of its heritages, has long struggled, sometimes hopefully, sometimes despairingly, to escape from them. This evening, it is my task to trace the struggle in a single typical Southern state and to sum up what it has accomplished toward that end. The struggle began in 1868. In North Carolina, as elsewhere in the South, political disorganization, economic ruin, and social disintegration followed the military collapse of the Confederacy. The immediate problem was the establishment of a stable government and the restoration of the state to its proper Federal

² Mr. Taft was living at the time this paper was read.

relations. Both processes were well under way when they were checked by Reconstruction. The people submitted, but with the submission of despair, not of conviction, and with the firm determination to restore constitutional government at the first opportunity. In the struggle for and the final triumph of this principle lies the significance of the political events from 1868 to 1876.

As Reconstruction rested on the basis of a solid black vote, so its overthrow was accomplished by a solid white vote. It is well to remember that such political solidarity was a new thing in the South. Before 1868 the same political divisions existed here as existed elsewhere in the country; it was Reconstruction that made the South solid. In 1876 the great mass of the white voters of North Carolina regardless of former divisions, welded into a single party and led by an old-line Whig who would have challenged to mortal combat anybody who had called him a Democrat before 1868, rose in revolt against the Reconstruction government and swept the spoilers from their places of power and pillage.

The political order which this victory placed in control of the state for the next two decades was dubbed by its opponents the "Bourbon Democracy". They meant to imply by that term that the ante bellum slaveholding oligarchy, having "learned nothing and forgotten nothing", had returned to power bent upon restoring the old régime. There was a certain element of truth in the implication. Elderly statesmen—mostly ex-Confederate colonels and brigadiers—whose minds dwelt chiefly on the "glories" of the past and the "degradation" of the present, controlled the party machinery and exhausted their political genius in the twin tasks of keeping the negro out of office and themselves in. High-minded, patriotic men, they furnished clean, honest government, and assured the political supremacy of the white race, but they little understood the social and economic problems of the new day.

The economic and social conditions with which the "Bourbons" had to deal were quite as bad as the political conditions. Between 1850 and 1860 North Carolina had gone through a decade of remarkable economic and social development. The great schism of 1860 had checked the movement, but the necessities of war itself had revealed to this agricultural community that it possessed an inventive genius and mechanical capacity which it did not know it had, and this revelation became an important factor in the subsequent industrialization of the state. North Carolina's two great industries—textiles and tobacco—had taken root before 1860 and both were stimulated by the demands of war.

This was especially true of the latter, for the habits contracted by the soldiers in the army continued during peace and after 1865 "all over the country a new era opened for good tobacco". During the war, within sight of where we are now assembled, James R. Green was manufacturing for the local trade an excellent brand of smoking tobacco. In April, 1865, the soldiers of Johnston's army, retreating before Sherman, passed through Durham, then a mere flag station, and became acquainted with Green's product. Hard upon their heels came the "Damyankees", who raided Green's little factory, and left him facing what seemed irretrievable ruin. But the soldiers, "Johnny rebs" and "Damyankees" alike, liked his brand; with the restoration of peace from all parts of the United States orders began to pour in; Green revived his business, and was soon seeking additional capital for expansion. At the happy suggestion of a friend, he adopted a Durham bull as his trade mark, and before many years "Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco" became known wherever men are accustomed to seek solace in what William Byrd long ago called "that bewitching Vegetable". At the same time, on his farm fifteen miles away, another pioneer of the tobacco business was building a new and larger log factory, twenty by thirty feet, to meet the needs of his expanding business. After Appomattox, Washington Duke returned from the Confederate army to pick up the broken threads of his life on the red clay hills of his little farm in Orange County. He found the place a wreck; Sherman's "bummers" had passed through. Then forty-five years of age, the father of five children, he possessed a cash capital of fifty cents in United States money for which, with characteristic business acumen, he had sold a five dollar Confederate note to a Yankee soldier. His outlook, not to speak too boastingly, was none too bright. It happened, however, that the raiders had overlooked a small quantity of leaf tobacco in an outhouse. Gathering this windfall into a tumbled-down log barn, Mr. Duke and his three sons pulverized it into smoking tobacco, packed it in bags, and modestly labeled it "Pro Bono Publico". The founder of the fortune which endowed Duke University had an imagination! Loading his output into an old patched-up wagon, drawn by two blind mules, Mr. Duke set out to peddle it through eastern North Carolina. In that wagon rode the American Tobacco Company, the Southern Power Company, and the Duke Foundation.

Washington Duke's story is not unique; it is the story of many another pioneer of the tobacco business in North Carolina. The early tobacco factory was usually a log barn located on the farm. The farmer himself was producer, manufacturer, and salesman. By 1870

the business began to attract men with capital. Two results followed—the farmer ceased to manufacture his own product and the business became concentrated in a few centers. In 1868 Durham had but one tobacco factory, in 1872 it had twelve. Two years later the Dukes moved from their farm to Durham, and the next year R. J. Reynolds moved from his farm in Virginia to Winston-Salem.

This shift from country to town was due to the necessity of seeking better transportation facilities. For many years the search was in vain. Transportation systems had suffered from war, but war was less destructive than Reconstruction. It was the pressing necessity for rebuilding the railroads that opened the door for the waste, extravagance, and corruption of the Reconstruction government. In North Carolina a ring was able to control the legislature through the venality of corrupt white and ignorant black legislators. Its directing genius was a New York carpetbagger, its paymaster a North Carolina banker, its members the carpetbag and scalawag leaders. The activities of this ring beggar description. With lavish entertainments, free distribution of liquor, services of prostitutes, open and unblushing bribery, it bought and sold legislators like so many cattle on the hoof. It overlooked no item of graft known to the legislative mind, but it made railroads its specialty. It cut existing lines in two, revived defunct companies, and chartered fictitious corporations. Its procedure was simplicity itself. Railroad companies, officered by members of the ring, applied to the legislature for aid in the form of state bonds; the ring put through the necessary measures for ten per cent. of the proceeds; the railroad officials sold the bonds and disposed of the money without accountability to anybody. All told \$13,315,000 were thus disposed of, for which not a mile of railroad was built.

Industry, as well as transportation, paid the penalty. New railroad lines were abandoned, existing roads forced into bankruptcy, and transportation facilities wrecked at the very time they were most needed, while on the back of property was piled a crushing load of debt and taxation. Within four years the state debt was increased threefold, the rate of taxation tenfold.

Social institutions shared the fate of industry. Churches, charitable agencies, schools and colleges, all had emerged from war and Reconstruction in ruins. The history of education best illustrates the conditions. Between 1840 and 1860 North Carolina had developed a good system of common schools; in 1860 its 2,854 public schools enrolled 116,567 pupils. At the outbreak of war, the University of North Carolina, founded in 1780, was teaching 430 students; the

church colleges, Davidson, Wake Forest, and Trinity (now Duke), were teaching as many more. Ruin was their common lot. War wiped out a public school fund of \$2,500,000; Reconstruction completed the job. Wake Forest closed in 1862, Davidson and Trinity in 1865; their endowments were gone. The University of North Carolina survived the war; Reconstruction wrecked it. The causes were two—poverty and politics. Appomattox converted its securities into scraps of paper; party politics turned out the old faculty of scholars and replaced them with political spoilsmen. Friends of education mourned the fate of the institution; students refused to enter; and in 1870 America's oldest state university closed its doors. A former student, more realistic than sentimental, recorded the event in this memorandum on the wall of a recitation room: "This old University has busted and gone to hell today!"

The destruction of the physical properties of these institutions was less disastrous than the destruction of the people's morale. Over the state hung the constant threat, backed by the sword of the nation, of social equality between the races and mixed schools and this threat planted a deep-seated prejudice against public schools in the minds of the whites.

Thus the heritages of Reconstruction, involving as they did the elemental things of society—law, order, peace, security of property, the preservation of society itself—exhausted the physical and mental resources of those who alone were competent to rebuild and direct the social institutions of the state. Though it was manifestly impossible to accomplish these tasks out of the current revenues of the bankrupt state, the memory of Reconstruction and its saturnalia of corruption made "Bourbon" law-makers chary of bond issues; they trembled at the very suggestion, and for five decades it was only necessary to quote Jefferson's motto, "Pay as you go; if you can't pay, don't go", to send timid legislators scurrying to cover. And North Carolina didn't go! Industry languished for lack of access to markets; agriculture waned under its burden of isolation; two generations of children grew up illiterate.

Such were the conditions that confronted the "Bourbons" after 1876. As the party which sought to perpetuate Southern traditions, which reflected the popular abhorrence of negro rule, which proclaimed its guardianship of Anglo-Saxon civilization, the "Bourbon Democracy" frowned upon the agitation of any question that might tend to divide the white vote. To the cause of public education it gave generous lip service, but little else. The demand of the land-owner for relief from an unfair tax system found it lukewarm. It

turned a cold shoulder to the farmer's cry for release from a vicious credit system which held him in the grip of the time-merchant. In its councils any form of governmental regulation of railroads was anathema. It denounced complaints against courthouse rings and demands for honest elections as insidious efforts to restore the negro to political power. In short, its idea of statesmanship was to preserve the *status quo*, and that at a time when society all around it was in a state of unprecedented ferment.

However, the term "Bourbonism" tells but half the story. To be sure familiar faces appeared in the councils of the new Democracy, but its rank and file did not represent, as the old Democracy had done, the interests of an aristocratic landowning class. Among the motley mass which made up its following, the largest single group was composed of the small farmers. No other class had been so completely ruined; nor did any other find the task of rehabilitation so difficult. Their labor disorganized, their farms run down, their land a drug on the market, their products constantly falling in value, their interests sacrificed to those of industry by a protective tariff, the farmers found themselves in the toils of ever-mounting debts, while returning prosperity reserved its smiles for merchants and manufacturers, bankers and railroad promoters. Business with its more favorable credit relations and governmental protection recovered more rapidly than agriculture and the farmers became more and more restive. Thus while the Democracy was "Bourbon" in the sense that it was conservative, it was not an aristocracy; it was not even planter-control; and while it sought to perpetuate old traditions, it actually fostered a new economic and social order.

But a new power had risen in the old South—the power of the common man! Before 1860 the slave system had held the non-slaveholding white in an economic and social bondage only less rigorous than that of the negro. Illiterate and inarticulate, poor and unorganized, his social interests had been sacrificed to the planter's creed that no education was needed for the laborer, his economic interests to his own pride which forbade him to engage in those forms of labor which he associated with a servile class. When, therefore, Lincoln emancipated the negro, he proclaimed freedom no less for the non-slaveholding white. But a new generation had to grow up before this newly emancipated class could realize its new power; and for a quarter of a century the "Bourbons" held it in line by its fear of negro domination and social equality, while they exploited it in the interest of the commercial and industrial classes.

Here and there voices of protest were raised—none louder or more persistent than that of young Walter Hines Page. Page personified the ideals of the new generation. Born of pioneer stock, unidentified with the old slaveholding aristocracy, his search for an education had carried him far afield for a Southern country boy of the 'seventies. Before reaching manhood he had traveled extensively in his own country and in Europe and had greatly broadened his intellectual and spiritual outlook. From school and travel he returned in the 'eighties to North Carolina afire with zeal to have a hand in the rebuilding of the old Commonwealth, and at Raleigh gathered around him a small group of like-minded young enthusiasts. He found North Carolina sitting disconsolate amid the ruins of her former glory, absorbed, as it seemed to him, in nursing her grievances. To arouse her out of her lethargy, to start her on the road of social and economic progress, seemed simple tasks to the eager, optimistic youth. Establishing a newspaper as his vehicle, he preached incessantly a trinitarian gospel of education, industry, and scientific agriculture. He spared nobody and no thing that stood in the way of his program; he poured forth a steady stream of argument, wit, satire, and ridicule against the "Bourbons"; he exposed with merciless frankness the fraudulent character of the three ghosts which he declared were strangling North Carolina in the grip of dead men's hands—"The Ghost of the Confederate dead, the Ghost of religious orthodoxy, the Ghost of negro domination". He likened North Carolina to a mummy—a political, social, and economic Thothmes II.—into whose dead body it was his mission to breathe the breath of life. But Page soon found it an "awfully discouraging business to undertake to prove to a mummy that it is a mummy". The grinning old thing seemed satisfied to rest quietly in its ancestral tomb and protested loudly against the sacrilegious efforts of the young Knight of Progress to disturb its slumbers. However, Page's crusade awakened a sympathetic response in a few kindred souls—such men as Charles W. Dabney, Charles D. McIver, Edwin A. Alderman, and Charles B. Aycock—all men of his own generation.

Reforms move slowly, and after two years of apparently fruitless effort, the discouraged editor gave up the contest, "cast off the shackles of provinciality for the freedom of cosmopolitanism", *i.e.*, he "went North", and abandoned the field to that "mummified aristocracy" which, he modestly lamented, "was driving the best talent and initiative from the state". Page understood the economic and social problems of his day; what he did not understand was that their solution awaited upon the solution of the political problem.

Perhaps nowhere in American history can be found a better illustration of Jefferson's theory that in a democracy a thunderstorm is necessary at least once in every generation. The storm came in the 'nineties. It was not, of course, confined to North Carolina, nor even to the South. In the agricultural West as well as in the agricultural South, as Professor Dodd has recently written, men rose in "wild protest".

They talked of imminent vassalage, of subordination and final slavery. Their language sounded like that of 1776. Their history and their economics were not perfect, but their sense of grievance was as great as that of the Boston rioters. They denounced the "hoarders of the world's supply of gold"; they would take banks and railroads under the control of the government; they would, like the fathers of the republic, issue cheap money. But Westerners would not unite with Southerners, they remembered 1861 too clearly; Southerners could not vote with Westerners, they remembered 1865; and the hot campaign closed without changing the current of history.

In the nation, perhaps, but not in the South. It was, indeed, the revolt of the 'nineties against "Bourbonism" rather than the revolt of the 'seventies against Reconstruction, that in the South opened the road to regeneration.

The revolters were the small white farmers whom Lincoln had emancipated. Nine-tenths of them would have resented any suggestion that they were not loyal Democrats. Political revolution was no part of their original program; with a certain naïve faith they expected their own party to work out their salvation. But the "Bourbons" would have none of them; tradition was too powerful. After a decade of vain appeal, the farmers were in a mood to listen to the seductive whispers of an alliance with the West, and thousands of them broke the shackles of tradition to follow the West into the Populist movement. Populism spelled the doom of Bourbonism; it wrested the scepter from the Gordons, the Hamptons, and the Vances of the old order to confer it upon the Watsons, the Tillmans, and the Butlers of the new.

The transition was not made without a bitter struggle. Unable to stand alone, their proffered alliance scornfully rejected by the "Bourbons", North Carolina Populists sought allies in the camp of the common enemy, hoping in the face of good authority to the contrary to find that the Ethiopian had changed his color. In 1894 and 1896 in alliance with white Republican leaders and their solid phalanx of a hundred thousand negro voters, they swept the "Bourbons" from power. Once more the Republicans had an opportunity in North Carolina—the most fertile field for their cultivation in the

South—to build up a party able to meet the Democracy on equal terms; once more they saw the opportunity struck from their grasp by the ghost of the black Banquo that appeared at every Republican-Populist feast, and would not down!

If the “Bourbons” failed as statesmen, they scored heavily as prophets. The alliance of fifty thousand white voters with twice that number of black voters again gave to North Carolina a government resting chiefly upon a black constituency, and once more North Carolina lived through the hideous nightmare of Reconstruction. Waste, extravagance, and corruption characterized this second experiment in negro rule as it had characterized the first. Robbery, burglary, and murder were daily occurrences. Rape became a common crime, and so did lynching—the white man’s lawless answer to the challenge of the negro’s lawlessness. In the chief city of the state, in many a smaller town, and in the black counties, neither life, nor property, nor woman’s honor was secure. The whites armed for self-protection; Governor Aycock declared without contradiction that more guns and pistols were sold from 1896 to 1898 than had been sold in the previous twenty years, and I do not think he exaggerated the conditions when he said that during those years “lawlessness walked the state like a pestilence—death stalked abroad at noonday—‘sleep lay down armed’—the sound of the pistol was more frequent than the song of the mocking-bird—the screams of women, fleeing from pursuing brutes, closed the gates of our hearts with a shock”.

Then came the inevitable result. The first reaction from a debauch is a return to sobriety. Once more the whites united in solid ranks to open an avenue of escape through the door of “white supremacy”. They frankly acknowledged their appeal to race prejudice, recognized all the evils that might arise from it, and admitted that it was charged with dynamite; but they declared it better to face the issue once for all than to have it recurring with accumulating force every second year. It must not be supposed that Democrats alone made this fight. Thousands of Populists, horrified to find that the Ethiopian was still black, and many white Republicans, eager to be rid of their black incubus, marched in step with Democrats. They were the white hosts of the new era. Their very solution of the problem—a literacy test for suffrage applicable after a decade to whites and blacks alike—stamped them as men with a new vision.

In 1924, writing in *Walter Page’s* magazine of North Carolina’s achievements in industry, road-building, agriculture, and education, French Strothers says: “Ask any intelligent farmer, or manufac-

turer, or educator, or public officer, how these amazing things came to be, and he will begin by saying: 'Well, about twenty-five years ago, there was a man named Aycock.'” Charles B. Aycock, the leader of the new movement, was himself the son of a small farmer. He was only two years old when North Carolina adopted her Ordinance of Secession. As a youth he had seen his mother make her mark when signing her name. Graduating in 1880, he was the first fruit of that new University of North Carolina which had been raised upon the ruins of the old. In 1886, while a struggling young lawyer in a sleepy North Carolina village, he wrote Walter Page, then in the midst of his battle with the mummies: “Three fourths of the people are with you and wish you Godspeed in your effort to awaken better work, greater activity, and freer opinion in the state.” From sturdy ancestors, Aycock had inherited a sympathetic understanding of the common man, and it was this quality, which he possessed in a superlative degree, that enabled him to arouse the small farmers of North Carolina to a successful revolt against their heritages from Reconstruction. Nominated for governor in 1900, he expounded the new program as embracing the trinity of good government, universal education, and economic progress. Adopt that program, he prophesied, and “There will be rest from political bitterness and race antagonism. Industry will have a great outburst. Freed from the necessity of voting according to our color we shall have intellectual freedom. With freedom of thought will come independence of action and public questions will stand or fall in the court of reason and not of passion”. The key to the problem was education. “The man who seeks in the face of these provisions to encourage illiteracy”, he declared, discussing the proposed literacy test, “is a public enemy and deserves the contempt of all mankind.” If elected, he promised the tens of thousands of small farmers who flocked to hear him, “I shall devote the four years of my official term to the upbuilding of the public schools of North Carolina. I shall endeavor for every child to get an education”. And by “every child”, he carefully explained, he meant blacks as well as whites. Thus he skilfully turned a heated political campaign into a campaign for universal education.

Aycock reached the highest point of his leadership, and presented the sharpest contrast between the new and the old régime, when he came to deal with the relations of the two races. To appreciate fully the significance of his position, you must bear in mind the circumstances under which he took it. North Carolina had just passed through a second period of negro rule; that rule had been overthrown after a bitter contest in which the chief appeal had been to race

passions, and the victorious whites were endeavoring to make permanent their power by an appeal to the principle of "white supremacy". There was grave danger that such a principle would lay the basis of permanent hostility and hatred between the two races; that it did not do so was due to a small group of white leaders whose views found expression in Aycock's unalterable stand for justice to the negro. "Universal justice is the perpetual decree of Almighty God", he told the convention which had just nominated him, "and if we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the negro . . . we shall in the fullness of time lose power ourselves." "God, who is Love, trusts no people with authority for the purpose of enabling them to do injustice to the weak." His constant repetition of these sentiments on the stump, his insistence on making universal education the chief theme of his speeches, and his determination that the door of hope should not be slammed in the face of the negro by permanently barring him from the privilege of suffrage, gave the whites a new conception of their duty to the blacks, convinced thoughtful negroes that their race had nothing to fear from the new movement, and saved North Carolina from the unspeakable calamity of a perpetual heritage of ignorance and race hatreds. Eight years later a convention of negroes at Raleigh adopted a resolution declaring their acceptance of "the restrictions recently placed upon the electors in this state".

The spirit of Aycock still lives in North Carolina. All that he dreamed and prophesied, indeed, has not yet come to pass. There is still an appalling amount of ignorance; chill penury continues to stifle the aspirations of thousands; negroes do not yet enjoy their political rights as fully as whites; industrial development has brought unsolved problems of adjustment between labor and capital; race animosities still linger, but North Carolina has the will to solve these problems, and with time and patience and freedom of action, will do so. The new generation, to whom the Civil War and its aftermath are as remote as the Wars of the Roses, will see to that. But a few days ago the last Confederate soldier who will ever be elected to office in North Carolina, if not in the South, announced his early retirement from Congress, and with his passing will pass not only a noble and picturesque representative of the Old South, but also a great and picturesque generation. The khaki of 1917 succeeds the gray of 1861!

Results of national significance are already apparent. A political tolerance and independence, impossible under former conditions, are slowly but surely developing. In 1856 a professor in the Uni-

versity of North Carolina was dismissed from the faculty by the trustees, and driven from the state by a mob, because he expressed a desire to vote for Fremont; in 1928 Mr. Hoover carried Chapel Hill precinct and the university faculty is still intact. Indeed, the closed season for Republicans now extends from January 1 to December 31, and even migrant Republicans no longer need the protection of the game laws. In many respects, indeed, the Republican party has been the chief beneficiary of the new political conditions. These conditions have enabled it to recruit its strength with former Democrats upon whom party ties have begun to sit lightly. The growth of this group may be traced largely to the recent industrial development of the state and to the emphasis which parties now place on economic and social, rather than purely political problems. In 1928, the nineteen counties which contain more than ten cotton mills each cast 37.6 per cent. of the Republican vote for President, although they contain only 29 per cent. of the population of the state. Fourteen of these counties went for Davis in 1924, but shifted to Hoover in 1928, and two of the other five were already in the Republican column. Drawn from the ranks of the industrialists and their allies, these voters had been alienated from the Democratic party by the rise of Bryanism, but theretofore had been held in line by the fear of the negro vote; that fear was allayed forever when the Republican State Convention in 1922 declared: "the Republican party of North Carolina is an organization of white men and women", and "has no intention of appointing negroes to office in this state". Since then the word "negro" has not appeared in the platform of either party. In 1928, for the first time since 1872, North Carolina's electoral vote landed in the Republican column. The result did not surprise those who were familiar with the development of North Carolina politics since 1900. With the Republicans polling their full strength, it required a shift of only about ten per cent. of the normal Democratic vote to turn the trick. This ten per cent. was easily supplied by Klucker patriots, who could not stomach Tammany; by "good wimmin, God bless 'em!", who would not look upon the cup when it was red; and by pious Protestants, who had registered an oath in Heaven that the Pope should not pass. But it is well to remember that the Kluckers would have swallowed the Tiger, the "good wimmin" would have risked the resurrection of John Barleycorn, and the Protestant bishops would have bowed the knee to Baal had their alternative been the return of Sambo to power. Southern politics are slowly but surely taking on the same characteristics, good and bad, of politics elsewhere in the country;

they have ceased to be unique, and the South should again be accorded its proper place politically in the Union.

Liberate North Carolina from the shackles of its political heritage from Reconstruction, predicted Aycock, and "Industry will have a great outburst". First the dream, then the realization. Along came James Buchanan Duke. "There are two things in nature", Washington Duke used to say, "that I just can't get through my head. One of them is that the earth is round; the other is my son Buck." And no wonder; Buck Duke was a world in himself. As his name indicates, he was born too late to be a Confederate soldier; like Page and Aycock, he was of the new generation. At the age of twelve he began work in his father's factory; at eighteen he was a full partner; at thirty-two he organized the American Tobacco Company. Twenty years later he controlled from seventy to eighty per cent. of the tobacco trade of the country. Then came the day when the Tobacco King succumbed to a sore toe, and took to his bed. His surgeon, a native of South Carolina, attempted to distract his mind from his twitching digit with the story of a little hydroelectric plant which he had built on his South Carolina farm. That story galvanized Buck Duke into action; he forgot his toe in the excitement of finding a new economic world to conquer. In Piedmont Carolina were streams flowing unimpeded to the ocean; why not harness them in the service of man? Buck Duke's answer to this question is the two-hundred-million dollar Southern Power Company with its capacity of 850,000 horsepower. "In Great Britain", according to French Strothers, "... every laborer, on an average, is aided by half a horsepower of artificial power. In North Carolina, every laborer in a factory drives a team of eight invisible horses, brought to his service over the wires of the leashed strength of the Catawba River." But the Southern Power Company is only one of half a dozen such corporations, and as their hydroelectric plants arose along the banks of Carolina rivers, factories sprang up like magic; spreading and following the ever-lengthening transmission lines, they have covered the state.

Lengthening transmission lines explain one important phase of the industrialization of North Carolina. They have industrialized this rural community without destroying its rural character. In North Carolina, eighty per cent. of the people still live in rural areas, and the state can not boast of a single city of a hundred thousand people. Nor have industries been localized. Variety rather than specialization characterizes their development. Cotton mills, tobacco factories, furniture plants, and other industrial enterprises exist side

by side in the same communities. Winston-Salem and Durham are famed as tobacco centers, but both are also large manufacturers of cotton goods. In the Greensboro area are great cotton mills, but High Point, twenty miles away, is second only to Grand Rapids as a furniture mart. The Charlotte-Gastonia district is the textile heart of the South, but at Badin, in an adjoining county, is the world's largest aluminum plant. The 535 cotton mills of the state are found in sixty-two, the 109 furniture factories in twenty-four of the state's one hundred counties.

To tell the story of industry in North Carolina since Aycock released the energies of the state in 1900 is to leave the low grounds of sober history and climb to the high plateaus of fairyland. To credit it one must hear it told in the cold figures of the United States Census. "I choose to enter into these minute and particular details", said Burke in 1775, discussing the trade of the American colonies, "because generalities, which in all other cases are apt to heighten and raise the subject, have here a tendency to sink it. When we speak of the commerce with our colonies fiction lags after truth, invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren."

You will, I am sure, pardon me if, with becoming modesty, I emulate the example of the great orator. From 1900 to 1925, the number of wage-earners in industry in North Carolina increased from 72,000 to 173,000, their annual earnings from \$14,000,000 to \$127,000,000, the cost of the raw materials they used from \$45,000,000 to \$380,000,000, the value of their output from \$85,000,000 to \$952,000,000. Agriculture kept pace with industry. In the same period the value of North Carolina's farm products rose from \$89,000,000 to \$514,000,000, the value of farm lands from \$233,000,000 to \$1,050,000,000. The estimated true value of all property in the state was \$682,000,000 in 1900; it was \$5,284,000,000 in 1925. As I have stated before, the per capita wealth of the state in 1890 at \$361 was the same as it was in 1860; in 1925 it was \$1,879.

At this point I must pause to brag a little; indeed, the chairman of the program committee expects it of me, and I can hold myself in leash no longer. For it would never do to allow you to return to your homes without being told that North Carolina leads the nation in the number of cotton mills; that in the value of their output it challenges the primacy of Massachusetts; that in furniture it treads on the heels of Michigan; that in tobacco it outstrips all competitors; that the value of its farm products surpasses that of any Southern state except the empire of Texas, which is five times its size; and that, excepting New York alone, it pays into the United States treasury a

larger revenue than any other state in the Union. Pardon the digression; North Carolina would never have forgiven me if I had neglected to mention these things. But to appreciate fully what they mean you must remember that when Charles B. Aycock and James Buchanan Duke were tow-headed lads on their fathers' worn-out farms in Wayne and Orange counties, North Carolina lay prostrate and bankrupt under the iron heel of war!

It is only when this economic progress is translated into terms of social development that its full significance appears. The old Commonwealth against which the farmers revolted in the 'nineties was primarily a political institution; the new Commonwealth of the twentieth century is primarily a social institution. Public interest in race relations, education, health, temperance, public welfare work, the relations of labor and capital, and other similar questions, have almost driven politics off the front page of the newspapers. The establishment by the state since 1900 of half a hundred charitable, correctional, and educational agencies to meet the growing public interest in such problems is expressive of the popular conception of the state as the chief social agent of its people. To the solution of these problems North Carolina, through both public and private sources, for twenty-five years has been devoting her best thought and her treasure.

Last year a bright young German student, on her first visit to America, said to me that everywhere she had gone in the East and in the North she had been told that there were better race relations in North Carolina than elsewhere in the South. Her inquiring mind desired an explanation. I replied: "Twenty-five years ago there was a man named Aycock." Aycock pledged North Carolina to a policy of social justice to the negro; North Carolina has been earnestly endeavoring to redeem that pledge. A quarter of a century passed; a hard-headed, trained business man with the Scotchman's shrewdness and penchant for economy sat in the chair vacated by Aycock. In a message to the legislature he laid it down as a primary state policy that, because of the negro's peculiar social and economic status, he "must be regarded as an especial object of our generous care and solicitude". His physical and mental defectives must be cared for, his youthful delinquents salvaged, his children educated, his security against lawlessness guaranteed. Were these sentiments mere words? Again the Census answers. Since Aycock pledged the state to justice for the negro, North Carolina has increased her annual expenditures for negro hospitals from \$115,000 to \$410,000, for negro schools from \$300,000 to \$3,500,000, and has invested more than

\$5,000,000 in the physical plants of his institutions. Complete protection against the spirit of white lawlessness is not yet guaranteed, but an awakened public conscience would make impossible to-day a repetition of the verdict of a coroner's jury which, in 1902, declared that a mob that had just lynched a negro "would have been recreant to their duty as good citizens had they acted otherwise". The strong arm of the law has sent lynchers to prison; the accurate aim of soldiers who fought through the Argonne and charged the Hindenburg Line has sent them elsewhere. These things have taken the joy out of lynching parties, and for a decade there have been no informal executions of negroes charged with crime in North Carolina. It would be impossible to overestimate the influence of these things on race relations. They have tempered the prejudice of the whites; they have allayed the apprehensions of the blacks. You have heard *ad nauseam* the claim that the Southern whites understand the negro; as a factor in the solution of the race question, it is an even more important fact that the negro understands the Southern whites. The spirit of mutual respect and confidence, inspired by this reciprocal understanding and sympathy, is the basis of the peace and good-will between the races that have ordinarily existed in North Carolina since 1900.

North Carolina has made industry the handmaiden of social development. To the rejuvenating powers of universal education this new Commonwealth pins its faith. In 1897 Walter Page summed up the educational tragedy of "Bourbonism" in the single phrase, "The Forgotten Man". At that time, twenty-six per cent. of the white population of North Carolina above ten years of age was illiterate! Public education had not then become an interest of the average person; the traditions of education as a luxury and a privilege of the rich and the well-born still lingered in the mind of the common man. In 1900, three years after Page coined his phrase, North Carolina spent a trifle more than \$1,000,000 on her public schools, and for a like sum valued the entire public school property of the state; twenty-five years later she spent \$34,000,000 on public education and valued her public school property at \$70,000,000. Higher education has had a similar development. The old university at Chapel Hill, with its fine classical traditions, has passed; a new university has arisen from its ashes—a university which, in the words of a well-known journalist, is not merely "a picked battalion of youth shining their intellectual armor at the feet of learned men", but is also "a great service bureau for the state, eager to serve, and eagerly sought for its counsel"; while at Durham, within a stone's

throw of the ruins of Washington Duke's first log tobacco factory, is rising a noble institution in which James Buchanan Duke, in a unique way and with rare vision, has linked together the industrial and intellectual resources of the New South.

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Association, the South has shaken itself free from its heritages of war and Reconstruction. Its self-confidence restored, its political stability assured, its prosperity regained, its social problems on the way to solution, is there any legitimate reason why it should not once more be permitted to devote its full strength and its high ideals to the service of the Union of its fathers?

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE BATTLE ABBEY RECORDS IN THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

THE Battle Abbey manuscripts in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, cover a period extending from William the Conqueror into the eighteenth century. At the dissolution of the monastery the properties passed to the house of Montague and much later were purchased by Sir Thomas Webster. After coming into private hands the documents appear to have been well taken care of for they include two thick quarto volumes compiled in 1726 by David Casley of the Cottonian Library which contain registers of the charters then in possession of Sir Thomas Webster. In 1835 a London bookseller, Thomas Thorpe, printed a descriptive sale-catalogue (Gross, no. 2644) and the collection passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps. After more than three-quarters of a century it moved from England to California.

At some point in their later history the documents were roughly classified and mounted in large morocco-bound folios which with the few smaller bound manuscript books bring the total up to ninety-nine volumes. Of these I have examined sixty-one volumes containing more than 2800 pieces, which carry the matter far beyond the Middle Ages. Some forty-four volumes are of direct interest to the medieval student, although the abundant evidence of the continuation of medieval legal ideas into the Elizabethan period is highly important.

The documents as a whole are divided into two large groups labelled Deeds and Rolls, the latter including rent rolls, manorial court records, and monastic accounts. Each group begins with a series of volumes without date followed by others assembled under reigns of English kings. The arrangement is not faultless for numerous pieces will be found out of chronological order, but the errors can be controlled if required.

The Deeds which lie between William I. and Henry VIII. number 916 pieces and occupy twenty-two volumes of which eight contain those without formal date. Among the latter, however, are many which can be given a chronological period through the names of the parties or witnesses, and further study may identify more of them. They offer an excellent field for practice in research. The most ancient of the identifiable scripts is a brief charter from William the

Conqueror granting immunity to the circuit of Battle and dating probably about 1070. A century passes until we reach an *inspeximus* of the documents of the abbey made by an assembly of bishops and abbots at the request of Abbot Odo. The next in order of time is a deed given a generation later under Abbot Ralph in which the actual signatures of the witnesses are present, the only case of the kind observed in the whole medieval collection. The longer gaps between documents naturally appear in the earlier reigns and the preservation of the seals of the later periods is more complete. As it is, more than 500 seals are still attached to these deeds, all of them of private or local character and many in excellent condition. Included in the multifarious forms of handwriting are many delightful specimens of clear and careful script.

The Rent Rolls of Battle are not so numerous as one might expect, many of them being fragmentary or confined to a portion of the abbey's possessions and widely scattered in time. They are no longer in roll form, the sheets having been separated and filed in the folio volumes. The earliest identified is a single piece about 24 by 7 inches, written in a small court hand in 36 Henry III. (1252) and covering the circuit of Battle only. A rental of 6 Edward III. in seven pieces of various sizes, making all together about fourteen linear feet of parchment, includes some sixteen manors or administrative centers, chiefly in Sussex. Another of 1360, not quite so long, is arranged in quarterly columns. Compared with the Costumal of Battle of the period of Edward I., published by the Camden Society (1887), the names of tenants and places in these are quite different.

After a gap of fifty-three years a few fragments appear from the reign of Henry V., but under Henry VI. are found the two best specimens of the rental collection. From one of these the date has been lost but the other is distinctly marked 1433. This consists of eight long sheets, the first of which is elaborately decorated and betitled as the report of William Mersh, Cellarer. The script is an elegant book-hand with headings rubricated. The undated one of seven sheets is as clearly written by the same hand, and the entries show that it must have preceded the rental of 1433, since the latter speaks of the heirs and successors of the same names. This William Mersh was evidently fond of making artistic rentals, for Dugdale mentions one in the Augmentation Office as a handsome folio on vellum of 292 pages.

Omitting various fragments of uncertain value, the list closes with a portion of a rental on three sheets of paper in which the watermark shows that it must have dated after 1482. In addition to these

originals some early transcripts and registers of documents have been preserved. Volume XXX., a quarto of 135 leaves of parchment in a careful cursive with rubrications, purports to contain copies of all documents pertaining to the sacristy of Battle to be found in the chests of the villa of Battle and elsewhere, "which documents were transcribed by the hand of Master John Waller, Sacristan of Battle in the 10th and 11th year of King Henry IV." (1409-1410). Volumes XXXIII. and XXIX. were formerly bound together in a continuous quarto of 305 leaves the first part of which is a highly ornamented register of the liberties and privileges of Battle, written in book-hand in double columns, and was probably separated for bookselling reasons. The remaining 260 leaves in various hands contain copies of royal charters from William I. to Edward III.; papal and British ecclesiastical charters; and a register of Battle properties with valuations. The more important of the charters have been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, volume III.

Monastic accounts are abundant. In volumes LXXVII. to XCIV., arranged as they came from the Phillipps collection, will be found a long series of reports as they were rendered annually or half yearly by the various responsible officials of the monastery. At the outset there are some fifty pieces of manuscript without dates which closer examination may be able to assign to their proper places, but dated accounts have been preserved since the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

The separation of the membranes makes some confusion for examination and I have noted simply dates given and have enumerated the pieces without attempting to determine whether the reports for the year stated are complete. Usually there should be separate accounts from the cellarer, sacristan, and other officials, and frequently a number of them are represented here for the same year, but it will be understood that my enumerations refer to pieces of manuscript.

The dated accounts begin with 6 Edward I. and for the forty-nine years to the end of the reign of Edward II. twenty-seven pieces remain. With Edward III. the material becomes more abundant and for his period of fifty years there are 130 membranes. Under Richard II. the accounts touch every year of his reign of twenty-two, and so on down to Henry VII. the proportion of manuscripts to the length of the reigns is about the same. Under Henry VIII. the accounts came forward steadily for thirty years until the dissolution of the monastery in 1539. The relation of this house to the religious revolution may be seen in the dating of a local court record of Battle in 1538 which accepts the situation and includes in the royal titles "*ac in terris sub Christo Anglicanae Ecclesiae Supremi Capitis*".

Not including the undated accounts we have here a period of 260 years in which the economic life of Battle Abbey is on exhibition in more than 700 manuscripts. Allowing for any missing years there is evidence enough for every reign to typify the age in which the documents originate. These household and manorial accounts indicate the scope and duties of numerous officials, the various sources of income, the cost of maintenance, many items in the cost of labor and materials, and other data in the life of a monastic community. For students of English economic history it is a compact mass of material out of which much may be extracted. The statement is made advisedly, for the Latin of the accounts, written in many different hands, suffers more than some other kinds of manuscript from the habit of abbreviation. The study requires a supply of patience as well as a fondness for statistics.

By the charters of Battle Abbey, both early and late, the monastery was endowed with the immunities and jurisdictions of a feudal lordship and, consequently, was charged with the administration of justice up to the point where this met with the powers of the county court. Its duties included the settlement of disputes among tenants and the punishment of disorder and crime as far as manslaughter. Even theft in those days was no trifling misdemeanor. These charter rights are amply documented, but still further their exercise is bountifully certified in the long series of court dockets which have been preserved. They assume the various forms required by the feudal conceptions of law and are entitled Hallmote, Hundredmote, Court Baron, View of Frankpledge, Gaol Delivery, as the case may be. All together they make up the most interesting group of manuscripts in the Battle Abbey Collection.

Chronologically they begin with Henry III., a few remain from Edward I., but for several reigns they are rather scattered until under Henry VI. they may be said to be abundant. Dated under Edward IV. alone there are 177 membranes for these twenty-two years. For the half-century which follows until the dissolution there are 180 more pieces of like character, making for the whole period some 440 manuscripts, each with the capacity of a sheet of closely written legal cap, frequently using both sides of the membrane, so that judging from a partial count the number of sessions recorded must be more than one thousand.

From this enumeration it is apparent that the bulk of the material, so far as date is concerned, is late medieval or early modern. In the legal aspect, however, the contents show how persistently the Middle Ages continued in local courts. This is evident even after the dis-

solution in 1539 when the property went into the hands of private owners. The house of Montague succeeded to the baronial rights as well, and the manorial courts continue for a long time in the names of that family. For the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth there are more than 300 parchments continuing these court documents and even under Charles II. there is one final record. Hence the legal study continues to be both interesting and important.

A detailed account of the matter to be found in the court dockets would require another article; hence a few examples will serve as illustrations from the medieval period. In the fifth year of Edward III. (1331) a "*Deliberatio Gaole*" was held at Battle. The record contains the full text of the royal commission directing three gentlemen of the vicinity to proceed to the said jail and try every prisoner there according to law and custom. Having assembled, a rule was passed stating the fees to be given to all persons engaged in the trials and the cases are called. To cite one of these to show the rate of speed in administering justice, there was the case of Roger Lokyer, who was indicted for the theft of two lambs in the night of December 27, 1329, also for two sheep which were missed on April 6, 1330. The sheep were valued at 2 sh. 4 d. Trial was held on March 7, 1331. Roger pleaded not guilty, and the jury said the same. One is struck by the number of verdicts of "not guilty" in all of these records of serious cases, and the eminent success of this method of clearing jails.

At a court held in March, 1345, John Sycoler, Emma at Stonehall, William Grey, and Philip Pope, with others unknown, were tried for a series of thefts from various persons, the plunder mostly in ells of woollen cloth. The total value of all items was £ 1. 6 sh. 4 d. and when laid before the jury Philip was set free, but John, Emma, and William were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

In 1405 and 1406 the View of Frankpledge is occupied with many smaller breaches of law brought before it from the various hamlets. Suits for debt, for assault and battery, and fines for obstructing or neglecting the king's highway are always in evidence. The assize of bread has its violators, but the Beer Taster seems to have the most trouble. In 1405 some eighty-two cases from four circuits were brought in and the persons fined from twopence to twelve pence each for not having the drink up to the proper standard.

The difficulty of defining the scope of these minor courts is illustrated by a docket of 1 Edward IV. about half a century later, for here the Hundred Court is occupied with the same class of cases. Numerous persons committed assault, drew their daggers, or attacked

a man in his house. Where blood was drawn the fine was increased. Failure to attend the Hundred Court was fined twopence and persons residing in that territory without holding tenements were taxed one penny each. Watch was kept not only over the bakers and brewers, but a butcher was fined 4 d. for overcharge and two tanners had to pay 2 d. and 3 d. for like reason. Farm labor in this reign was paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2 d. per day. At this court the tithingmen and the "Tastators" of bread and beer were elected for the coming year and certain cases were referred to the royal assize. In rare instances a settlement of an estate goes on record in one of these courts. One dating from 1461 has an inventory of household chattels with most interesting examples of English spelling.

A great quantity of Hallmote dockets provides the feudal property background for this view of legal history while the jurisdictions of the various courts overlap. The materials found in these manuscripts are not without parallel in English history, because similar conditions are found elsewhere, but the documents of this particular religious institution have not been thoroughly studied, and it is a great satisfaction to have them available in the Huntington Library.

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FIELDS FOR RESEARCH IN THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES TO 1900¹

To say that diplomatic history can not be written definitively from a single archive is to affirm the obvious. It is true that study in one archive may result in important contributions upon such subjects as the formulation of policy, which may be closely limited and defined at the outset. Biographical chapters may also be written. I have in mind such contributions as Alice Felt Tyler's *Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine*, J. M. Callahan's *Evolution of Seward's Mexican Policy*, and F. A. Golder's *The Russian Fleet and the Civil War*. But the broader chapters in diplomatic history, which concern more than one government, can not be written satisfactorily without a knowledge of the archives of all the governments in question. A history of the diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the United States, for example, can not be based on the archives of the United States alone. Yet how frequently has this been attempted in the past! College professors still assign to doctoral devotees subjects requiring investigation in foreign archives which the investigator, if only for practical reasons, can not consult. How constantly does archival

¹ A paper presented at the North Carolina meeting of the American Historical Association.

investigation abroad overthrow the conclusions of these earlier one-archive studies! Witness the havoc wrought by *Die Grosse Politik*.

The purpose of these remarks is, in the first place, to indicate bibliographical apparatus, documentary publications, facsimiles, and other aids, which may offer further assistance to research work in the diplomatic history of the United States from the point of view of multiple-archive investigation. These may reasonably be expected in this age of gift-funds, stipends, scholarships, and endowments made by citizens or institutions yearning to deserve well of the historical guild. In the second place, I wish to suggest fields in which research remains to be done.

First of all, a guide to the investigation of American diplomatic history is needed. It should include an up-to-date bibliography, topically and chronologically arranged, with abundant cross references and copious indexes. For this a foundation exists for recent years, where the material is most voluminous, in Miss Grace Griffin's annual *Writings on American History*. In addition, such a guide should include chapters on bibliographical aids in the principal languages; references to archival collections and catalogues, to be found in the United States and abroad; and a list of facsimile material existing in the United States and Canada. An important section should deal with printed diplomatic correspondence, public and private.

Secondly, the work of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, in producing guides to material relating to American history in foreign archives, recently diverted to other efforts, should be completed. Guides for Dutch, Scandinavian, and Portuguese archives, and perhaps more detailed guides to Spanish archives, might be provided. There will be increasing need in the future for a guide to the material in South and Central America relating to the history of the United States, which conceivably might turn out to be a guide mostly to diplomatic material. The guides already published by the Carnegie Institution are the very basis and backbone of multiple-archive research into the diplomatic history of the United States.

Thirdly, the publication of diplomatic correspondence under public and private auspices should be stimulated in order to bring it at least to the level of production in European countries. It is possible to edit series of instructions of the Department of State to, and correspondence with, our diplomatic representatives in the principal countries of the world. A good model for this is the publications by the Royal Historical Society of dispatches to the British Foreign

Office, but it is to be hoped that in the United States this might be an official publication, a hope inspired by the competent publications of current diplomatic correspondence now coming from the Department of State. The number of such series would be comparatively small for the first fifty years of our independence; and the relatively short history of the United States as an independent nation might make entirely practical the preparation of such publications down to a date compatible with the public interest. An excellent beginning has already been made, through the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Manning's edition of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States, with the republics of South America, in the recognition period.

It might be hoped that endowments interested in promoting the study of our international relations could arrange for the publication of foreign series supplementing these American series, providing the sympathy of the several foreign governments could be elicited. For example, the relevant instructions and dispatches of the several South American states to their agents in the United States, for the period covered by Manning's edition of American diplomatic correspondence, would assist immensely the more thorough study of our diplomatic relations with the countries of Latin America. Where publications of correspondence in extenso are not possible, calendars are helpful. To add to the stream of published private papers of diplomats, private organizations and historical societies must be relied upon. A much-needed publication would be a documentary history of neutral rights and duties, as involved in the history of the United States.

As to facsimiles, the possibilities of assistance to the investigator are almost infinite, particularly in the age of cheap and excellent photography. The work of the Library of Congress Historical Mission, operating under the John D. Rockefeller, jr., gift for the acquisition of source material in American history, has added during the last three years invaluable series of correspondence between various foreign offices and their respective agents in the United States. Thus the British Foreign Office, Series America, was (August 14, 1930) complete through 1849; France, through 1814; Sweden, through 1862; Prussia, through 1859 (with a few exceptions); Lübeck and Bremen—correspondence of Schleiden—through the year 1867; the Netherlands, through the year 1882; Austria, instructions through 1894, dispatches through 1894; Sweden, through 1862. These series are being continued and will eventually be brought up to the date line established by the respective archives through the courtesy of which the work is permitted to go on. The French and English

series, however, are so voluminous that it is open to some question whether the series in those countries can be completed within the remaining two years, which is the lifetime of the project. It is greatly to be hoped that means will be found to continue this important project beyond its present bounds of time and money, if only to make possible similar foreign office facsimiles for several other European countries and for the republics of Hispanic America. Through the inter-library loan system these facsimiles are to be available ultimately to responsible investigators nearly anywhere in the United States.

The execution of such suggestions would make available multiple-archive resources for the proper training of investigators, and would do much toward replacing the one-archive type of diplomatic history which has been so persistently prevalent in the United States and other countries. Added to this is the increasing number of traveling fellowships founded for research of all kinds, to the benefits of which the student of diplomatic history, if adequately qualified, has a peculiarly strong claim.

Turning now to fields for suggested research. The following indications proceed upon the assumption that the work is not to be limited to the contents of a single archive, a premise which greatly widens the unexploited areas. One of the most fertile fields to be tilled is that of the diplomatic history of North America before 1776, in those centuries during which this continent furnished the stakes of European diplomacy, at first rather gradually increasing in importance, until they came to be vital in the international relations of the day. Here is room for a whole seminar of research on many borderlands, carrying on work similar to that of the California school for the frontier issues of the Southwest. Studies like Julius Goebel's *Falkland Island Controversy*, or Harriette's *Diplomatic History of America*, or E. G. Bourne's *Demarcation Line of Alexander VI.* might be made of the international aspects of various topics of North American history for this period, such as: the controversy between Great Britain and France over the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company territory, out of which by a curious cartographical fiction came the origin of our northern boundary of forty-nine degrees north latitude; the long controversy as to the boundaries of Acadia; the idea of a buffer territory in Central America, Mexico, and Louisiana between Anglo-American and Latin colonial systems; the rôle of naval stores in the diplomatic history of Western Europe, with particular reference to North America; the diplomatic history of the fisheries, which so far has been approached rather from the angle of legal briefs; studies of the successive challenges made by the mari-

time powers of Western Europe to the Spanish colonial monopoly; the history of important European treaties disposing of North American territory, like Utrecht (already presented in part by Professor Morgan), Aix-la-Chapelle, even the Treaty of Paris from the American point of view. The more this field is penetrated, the more the significance of North America will be revealed in the counsels of Europe, and the more it will be realized how sharp was the shock to European diplomacy given by the separation of the American colonies from their automatic involvement in the wars of Europe.

Another untouched field, ready for a productive seminar, is the place of map controversies in diplomatic history, or perhaps better put, of maps in diplomatic controversies. A fine example of this kind of work was the paper read by Colonel Lawrence Martin for the 1927 Washington meeting of our Association, on John Mitchell's map and the diplomatic history of the United States. As suggestions to start work in this field I cite: the history of the Disturnell Map of 1847 attached to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo; of Mellish's Map of January 18, 1818, attached to the treaty of February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States; map evidence in the Palmas Island arbitration; in the Isle of Pines case; in the Venezuela boundary arbitration; in the Labrador-Newfoundland boundary controversy, which is not altogether unrelated to the diplomatic history of the United States; in the fisheries question; and, important enough, in the peace negotiations of 1782. A good map research involving a wide domain of our diplomatic history might be found in the subject "Where is and what was the Red-Line Map?" As this field is studied, many more significant subjects will appear.

A reference to the literature on the subject will reveal the gaps to be filled in by subsequent investigators on a multiple-archive basis, in the relations between the United States and the other states of the world. The diplomatic history of the American Revolution remains to be completely set forth. Despite the brilliant monograph of Corwin, and the monumental publication of Doniol, there are left important opportunities in this field. Running over the field of Anglo-American relations one notes the following subjects pleading for more complete investigation: Anglo-American relations, 1795-1802; the Treaty of Ghent, after a careful study of the archives of the several nations indirectly involved, as well as of Great Britain and the United States; the history of the impressment issue; the Oregon question (now being worked up, it is understood, by Professor Merk); the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; the slave trade controversy; the carrying trade; in general the field of British-American relations between the Treaty of Ghent and the Civil War needs much cultiva-

tion; so does the field between the end of the Civil War and the Spanish American War, and this is now facilitated by the opening of the British Foreign Office Archives to 1885.

In regard to Franco-American relations the following fields beckon the research student: the Treaty of 1800 and its background (it is understood that Professor James is working on this); the Louisiana Purchase—yes, there remains much to do on this, particularly in the Spanish archives, not all the documents having been read by Henry Adams; the debts controversy of the Jacksonian period, and in general Franco-American relations between the Napoleonic wars and the American Civil War; the Maximilian episode—a magnificent chance for multiple-archive investigation; and the comparatively quiet field of Franco-American relations from 1867 to 1900, as soon as the French archives shall have been opened for that period. For Spain, we have the field between 1795 and Henry Adams still to be brought before the American historical reader (it is understood that Professor Whitaker is at work on this); Henry Adams's own period stops in 1808, so far as Spain is concerned; from that time to the recognition of the restored Spanish monarchy and the advent of the Florida question, we have a chance for an investigation into the relations of American privateers and gun-runners to Spanish-American affairs; the Florida treaty might be illuminated by a study of the archives of the Spanish Foreign Office, as well as those of Great Britain and perhaps France; the whole Cuban question remains to be handled from the advantage of work in Spanish archives; Spanish-American relations during the American Civil War are yet wholly to be understood; and of course the Spanish-American War is still to be studied in other than American archives.

In regard to the other nations of Europe we might indicate briefly the following fields: diplomatic relations between Prussia and the German states, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, to 1870; German-American relations, 1870 to 1900 (now being done by two competent German scholars); Austrian-American relations, so far seriously touched only by Curti's brief and satisfactory monograph on *Austria and the United States, 1848-1852*, and Dr. Hans Schlitter's work for the period of 1783-1789; Russian-American relations, where Golder's articles leave gaps; Swedish-American and Danish-American relations, from a study of the Scandinavian archives; Portuguese-American relations; Dutch-American relations, several phases, during the nineteenth century, as well as American diplomatic relations with Belgium. The relations between the United States and the several Italian states have not yet been definitively covered (though Professor Stock's work on the Papal States is

awaited), and there is the whole field of Italian-American relations since 1870, on which so far only a few, brief, disparate monographs exist. I know of no study of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Greece, although at least one French historian who has worked the Greek archives for the whole nineteenth century has found them open. Turkish-American relations; our relations with each of the Balkan states; Persian-American relations, these are other fields still to be cultivated by students of American diplomatic history.

We have had several studies of the relations between the United States and Japan, and China, in the nineteenth century, excellent narratives built up on American sources carefully and diligently perused, but there appears to be none which has utilized the relevant Chinese or Japanese sources. Perhaps this is too much to expect, if only because of difficulties of occidental students with oriental documents; but still it is not improper to apply our rule of multiple-archive research to the Far East as well as to Europe. A diplomatic history of Hawaii, involving labor in many archives, will be well worth while. Finally, aside from Mexican-American relations to 1848, we have the whole field of our diplomatic relations with the Hispanic-American republics. Can not the archives of these countries be brought in to use for the study of our diplomatic history, as well as *their own*? *There have been a few attempts to write chapters of the diplomatic history of some of these countries, notably Colombia and Argentina, from their own archives, but I know of no printed study of relations of a South American republic with the United States on the basis of both sets of archives.* Generally speaking, too, English and French archives can not be overlooked for the study of Hispano-American diplomatic relations.

In these remarks I have limited myself somewhat to general fields rather than to specific subjects. As the fields are tilled special subjects will appear. Among special subjects that might attract research are the careers of American diplomatists, pursued even from a biographical point of view; of foreign diplomatists like Barbé-Marbois, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Liston, Otto, Bagot, Foster, etc., to mention only a few whose trails crossed American paths in significant ways. And of adventurers like William Augustus Bowles, James Wilkinson, and William Walker. Individuals a-plenty like these will spring out of the records of foreign archives once they are read by the student of our diplomatic history, and their colorful careers will be woven into the great pattern.

Outside the field of relations strictly between the United States and a particular foreign power, to be approached from the point of

view of diplomatic history rather than international law, may be discerned: fisheries, Pacific islands, embargoes in general (Jefferson's has been covered), trade in munitions, freedom of the seas, seals, international communications, naturalization, executive agreements, control of emigration and immigration, double taxation, the press, consuls, commercial treaties (individually and in general), scientific expeditions, peace efforts and conferences, etc. It would take a John Bassett Moore to enumerate all the possibilities in this connection, always from a multiple-archive point of view.

The question is likely to arise in any discussion of this kind, is it practical to pick out the untouched fields and organize systematic research by which, with well-planned coöperative work, the whole may be adequately covered? It is my opinion, based on some experience of this nature, that such a systematic coöperative collaboration is not practical. The field should be open to all, but this does not mean to say that some degree of arrangement and forethought might not be exercised to prevent collisions and duplications. A more careful consultation of the Carnegie Institution's annual lists of doctoral dissertations in progress in the leading American universities, and a more systematic and comprehensive communication of chosen subjects to that publication, might be very helpful. It is also suggested that, for subjects of the diplomatic history of the United States, a register might be kept at the Department of State Archives, and later at the National Archives when they are organized, of such investigations as are under way, together with the character of sources on which it is planned to base the research. The suggestions for research which have been made in this paper concern subjects on which nothing complete in print has come to my attention.

If the fields still to be cultivated are wide and far, recruits are near, numerous, and energetic. Facilities for study are increasing. Instruction in diplomatic history is more and more widespread in American graduate schools. The subject is commanding greater and greater attention in the practical as well as the academic world. It is not too sanguine to expect that during the next generation, possibly during the next twenty or twenty-five years, a numerous group of monographs may be produced which will make it possible to expect a scholarly general diplomatic history of the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a history which will rest on the foreign as well as the American sources, with most of the surviving documentary record, itself too incomplete, placed before the historian's eyes.

George Washington University.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

DOCUMENTS

*Tariff Strategy and Propaganda in the United States, 1887-1888*¹

THE documents which follow throw light on the methods by which the high command of organized industry in eastern United States established and carried out cordial working agreements with the leaders of the Republican party. This politico-industrial alliance aimed to influence American voters, especially Western farmers, to support high protection as the permanent tariff policy of the United States. To achieve this aim required a quarter of a century of effort, culminating in the presidential election of 1888.

For a long time the American people had regarded high protection as a temporary war policy. Before the Civil War, the average rate on dutiable imports was less than twenty per cent.; during the war, it reached nearly fifty per cent.; after the war, import duties, along with internal taxes, were expected to recede to a more normal, peace time level. Industries, which had enjoyed the higher profits made possible in part by high tariff rates, were loath to see rates lowered. As Mr. Howard K. Beale showed in the January number of this journal, the radical leaders in the Reconstruction period were anxious to delay the appearance of Southern representatives and senators in Congress partly because they did not wish to increase the low tariff vote. To keep the Western farmer from supporting the Johnson policies or from insisting himself upon a substantial reduction of the war tariff these radical leaders vigorously "waved the bloody shirt". Political leaders and parties were slow to take a definite position upon the issue thus presented, but by 1887, when President Cleveland sent his famous tariff message to Congress, battle lines were definitely formed.

The industries most vitally affected now redoubled their efforts to save the cause of high protection. Among the important organizations working toward this end were the Industrial League² and the

¹ These documents were obtained while the writer was engaged in work made possible by assistance from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and certain friends of historical research.

² The Industrial League was originally the Pennsylvania branch of the American Industrial League, organized after the Civil War to protect high tariff interests. The parent organization died in 1868, but under the able leadership of such men as Daniel J. Morrell, Joseph Wharton, James M. Swank, and Henry C. Lea, the Pennsylvania league continued the work. Membership dues from individuals and regular assessments from industrial organizations which were mem-

American Iron and Steel Association. Both were dominated by the same group of Pennsylvanians and had their headquarters in Philadelphia. The powerful American Iron and Steel Association was formed in 1864, the year when Bessemer steel was first produced in the United States, and existed till 1912.³ Under the guidance of James M. Swank,⁴ this association, representing the chief manufacturing industry of the United States, took the lead in defending the general principle of protection at a time when the strength of the Republican party in Congress was decreasing and when the iron and steel industry feared the return of crushing European competition.

In searching for means to combat attacks, protectionists turned naturally to the newspapers, but soon discovered that the newspapers in the South and West—the very sections they needed most to reach—were hostile. To reach voters in these sections the association undertook the publication and distribution of well-edited and printed tracts of from four to twenty-four pages. Usually, prominent speeches made in Congress or outstanding magazine articles were utilized, though some tracts were composed of original material. Permanent results based on a secure foundation of education were desired and hence distribution went on between campaign years as well as during campaigns. In 1887, for example, before Cleveland's message had startled protectionists, over 190,000 tracts covering various phases of the question had been distributed. Not one contained a special plea for iron and steel. Cleveland's message stimulated feverish activity and resulted in the careful distribution of over

bers of the League made possible the free distribution on a large scale of a monthly *Bulletin*, a protectionist almanac, and speeches made by protectionists in Congress. College libraries were supplied also with textbooks teaching the "American science of political economy".

The tracts mentioned in these documents bore the imprint of the Industrial League, from 1885 to 1889; before 1885 and after 1889 the imprint was of the American Iron and Steel Association.

³ It was succeeded by the American Iron and Steel Institute. The American Iron Association, organized in 1855, the year when Bessemer was granted his first patent, was its predecessor.

⁴ Few men of his time had more influence on tariff bills than did James Moore Swank (1832-1914); for forty years he was the executive head of the American Iron and Steel Association. He edited its *Bulletin* and wrote voluminously in support of protection. His statistical work gained him international recognition. Andrew Carnegie said that "iron and steel owe an unpayable debt to Mr. Swank". During the period of Swank's service to the association he saw pig iron production increase from 2,560,963 to 29,726,937 gross tons and steel production from 198,796, to 31,251,303 tons; he also saw the deadening fear of British competition in this field disappear. He wrote a number of books, chief among which is *History of the Manufacture of Iron in all Ages*. Cf., John Bruce McPherson, James Moore Swank, Protectionist, in the *Bulletin* of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, XLIII. 260-274 (Sept., 1913).

1,000,000 tracts in 1888. "No other organization in the country distributes tariff literature, or has ever distributed it, as methodically and liberally as the American Iron and Steel Association has done", wrote Swank.⁵ In addition to sending out tracts, the association during the years 1886 and 1887 gave away to college professors and others, over 1600 standard books dealing with protection.⁶ The work of such organizations was supplemented by tariff speeches sent out by members of Congress.⁷

The chief problem which confronted Eastern industrialists in 1887 and 1888 was to "educate" Western farmers into believing that a high protective tariff policy would redound to their economic welfare. The latter did not usually realize that through the cordial coöperation of their political leaders with Eastern capitalists they were being made the subjects of such a process of "education". Tariff tracts, for example, which were written and printed under the supervision and at the expense of the Pennsylvania iron and steel interests, were wrapped and addressed, not in Philadelphia, but in county seats in Minnesota by secretaries of local Republican organizations and then mailed to neighboring farmers and laborers. Such propaganda met conflicting propaganda carried on under the auspices of the Democratic party and supported by Eastern importers and European manufacturers who would profit by lowered tariff rates, but they were not in a position to command such strong, continuous financial support as their opponents. The advocates of high protection won; in spite of temporary setbacks in the elections of 1890 and 1892, their point of view and their ideas have become the basis of the subsequent tariff policy of the United States. The documents which follow illustrate the material upon which a satisfactory tariff history of the United States must be based.

The letters to and from Hon. Eugene G. Hay, now living at Summit, New Jersey, were secured from his private papers. He very courteously permitted unrestricted access and use of his papers and generously acted on the suggestion that they be given to the Library of Congress. The letters to and from Wharton Barker

⁵ *Bulletin* of the American Iron and Steel Association, Dec. 21, 1887, p. 351.

⁶ The chief books so distributed were H. M. Hoyt, *Protection versus Free Trade* (New York, 1886); G. B. Stebbins, *The American Protectionist's Manual* (Chicago, 1883) and *Progress from Poverty* (Chicago, 1887); R. E. Thompson, *Protection of Home Industry* (New York, 1886). Thompson supplemented his salary as professor in the University of Pennsylvania by serving on the editorial staff of Wharton Barker's *American*.

⁷ S. S. Olds, for example, wrote to John Sherman on Feb. 17, 1888: "I have just sent 20,000 tariff speeches into the State [Michigan] and have exhausted the supply. I require 4,000 more (Senator Frye's speech and your own). The demand is urgent."—John Sherman Papers.

were secured from his private papers in the possession of his son, Rodman Barker, treasurer of John Wanamaker's, Philadelphia, who also very courteously permitted unrestricted access and use thereof. The letters to Senator John Sherman are taken from his private papers; these constitute the most voluminous collection of private papers possessed by the Library of Congress. The letters to Senator William B. Allison are taken from his private papers; they number over 300,000 and are in the custody of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa, and are here used by permission of its curator, Hon. Edgar R. Harlan. The letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Benjamin Tracy was found among General Tracy's private papers, now in the possession of his son, Frank B. Tracy, of Owego, New York, who courteously granted unrestricted access to them. Mr. Tracy also generously acted upon the suggestion that his father's papers be transferred to the Library of Congress. They will be opened to scholars generally upon the completion of a biography of General Tracy. All of the letters here printed were considered private and confidential when they were written.

Wittenberg College.

A. T. VOLWILER.

I

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 11, 1887

Wharton Barker, Esq.⁸
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Sir:

Presuming upon a slight acquaintance formed at the Republican National Convention of '84, in which I was a delegate from Indiana and at the suggestion of Senator Harrison of that State, I write you with reference to the situation in Minnesota upon the Tariff question.

I moved from Indiana to this city last summer and upon the invitation of the Republican State Committee took some part in the Campaign, visiting a considerable portion of the state. And the impression I formed was that the attitude of the masses of the republicans in Minnesota upon the tariff is alarming. You know that the five members of the present Congress from this State are Republicans and that four of the five have persistently voted with the Democrats on the Morrison Bill. At the election in November the democrats elected three members and the republicans two, and only one of these two is a protectionist. The Republican State platform was a contradiction upon this question, endorsing as it did the principles of the last national platform and at the same time endorsing the votes of the majority of the Minnesota members on the Mor-

⁸ Wharton Barker (1846-1921), of an influential Philadelphia banking firm, associated with Baring Brothers, was a student of political, economic, and social questions. To give publicity to his views he started and financed a weekly periodical, *The American* (1880-1891 and 1894-1900). He was a pronounced protectionist and a personal friend of Senator Benjamin Harrison, of whose nomination for the presidency he became an early and ardent advocate.

risson Bill. The Tribune of this city which is a protection paper and the Pioneer Press of St. Paul, a revenue reform paper are the leading newspapers of the state, both republican. The Tribune contends editorially that the masses of the republican party of the state are protectionists, but from my observations, I fear it is mistaken. Our campaign was a short one, and those of us taking part in it who were protectionists, found that the only safe thing to do in most localities was to avoid the subject all together, in fact I was frequently admonished by the leading republicans of a town or city where I was sent to speak not to discuss the tariff issue. Many of the leaders of the party in the state are earnest believers in the heresy of free trade. At least two of the newly elected State officers are radical free traders.

In the national campaign of 1888 it is to be supposed that protection will be the republican shibboleth, in which event Minnesota must be classed among the very doubtful States, unless some steps are taken in advance to properly educate the people. And it is for the purpose of asking you to bring that matter before the protectionists of Pennsylvania that I write this letter. I have firm faith that if the people of our state properly understood the question they would be as strong protectionists as the people of Pennsylvania or Ohio. It has been my experience, or rather observation, that a partial understanding of a question inclines the masses to the wrong side, and all that is necessary to bring them right is more light.

In 1874 and 1876 it was only by the vigorous efforts of a few, foremost among whom was General Harrison, that the republican party of Indiana was kept from surrendering bodily to the Greenbackers and again in 1880 the party in the same State was saved by the same men from the very danger which threatens the party in this state now.

The situation would not be so alarming here were the party leaders all protectionists, but they are not. I have no suggestions to offer, but have believed if some arrangement could be made to flood the state with protection literature during the calm between now and the national campaign—that the farmers and laborers might read, think, and understand for themselves—it would in all probability avert the danger. Of course any effort of this kind would have to be carefully managed lest it should defeat the very object it was intended to accomplish.

I offer as an excuse for annoying you with this long letter the fear which I have expressed, together with an earnest desire that the danger may be averted, and the hope that you may in some way be able to contribute to that end.

Very truly yours,
[E. G. HAY]⁹

⁹ Eugene Gano Hay (1853-) was an Indiana lawyer of note, actively interested in state and national politics. For over twenty years he was an intimate friend and staunch political supporter of General Harrison. In 1884, as an Indiana delegate to the Republican national convention at Chicago, Hay vigorously advocated Harrison's nomination for the presidency. In 1886, he moved to Minneapolis to seek in the rapidly growing Northwest a larger field of action. He at once became active in state politics and in 1889 was elected to the Minnesota legislature. He helped introduce the highly organized and efficient Hoosier political system into Minnesota. When Harrison became President he appointed Hay Federal district attorney for Minnesota. Roosevelt appointed him Federal general customs appraiser for the port of New York.

II

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 15, 1887

Mr. E. G. Hay
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of Jan. 11th. It gives me pleasure to hear from you. The subject of your communication is one of large interest to the people of the whole nation and I will bring it before the Executive Committee of the Industrial League and I am sure publications can be sent to your state. I wish you would let me know in what way you think the business had best be done.

I send you *The American* of today and ask your attention to the editorial on "The reduction of the excess revenue". The article is an expression of my views and of my position.

I shall be glad to send the *American* to the Republican Leaders of your state and to that end I ask you to send me a list of them. The *American* takes high tariff views. The Minneapolis Tribune was and may now be under the control of my friend, General Nettleton.

I trust Senator Harrison may be elected to the Senate next week. He is the most available candidate for President the Republicans have and I think we can nominate him. The hesitation of your Indiana people in 1884 nominated Mr. Blaine. I am not one of those who think Mr. Blaine can carry New York. Senator Harrison would, I think, carry both New York and Indiana.

Yours very truly,
WHARTON BARKER

III

PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY.

THE AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL ASSOCIATION,

NO. 261 SOUTH FOURTH STREET,

B. F. JONES, PRESIDENT.
JAMES M. SWANK, GENERAL MANAGER.
ANDREW WHEELER, TREASURER.

PHILADELPHIA, May 18, 1887¹⁰

Eugene G. Hay, Esq.,
c/o Jelly & Hay,
634-640 Temple Court,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:

At the suggestion of one of the officers of this Association I wrote you last winter proposing to send you a large quantity of tariff tracts for distribution in your State. I also sent you samples of the tracts we then had on hand. Not having heard from you. I now send you another sample package, and will be glad to hear from you concerning the best means of securing their liberal distribution. We have sent copies of the tracts to the editors in your State.

Truly Yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

¹⁰ This same heading appears on practically all of Swank's letters, which are here printed.

IV

MINNEAPOLIS, June 9th 1887

James M. Swank, Esq.,
Gen. Manager American Iron and Steel Assn.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My Dear Sir:

I have just finished examining the tariff tracts sent me by you several weeks ago.¹¹ I should have answered your inquiry as to the best method of circulating them among the voters of Minnesota sooner, but desired first to read each tract carefully, which I have not had time to do until this week. I think tract No. 7 the best for general circulation excepting the paragraph on page 8 entitled "The Bugbear of High Duties," which seems to me to be illogical. Tract No. 5 by Senator Morrill is an excellent presentation of the question discussed and cannot help but produce good results wherever circulated. No 4 by Judge Kelley I think a little too erudite for a popular political tract, but would be an excellent document to circulate among that School of economic theorists who derive their inspiration in this country from Prof. Sumner, of which class we have a great many in this State.

As to the best means of circulating them, I have been unable to think of a plan that is satisfactory to myself which does not involve considerable expense. As I said in my former letter we have no political machine in

¹¹ The tracts sent were doubtless the 1887 series of the Industrial League. Each tract bore the following heading: "TARIFF TRACT NO. —, 1887, Published by THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE, at No. 261 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, where copies of this tract may be had for distribution." The series was as follows: No. 1, *Is there reciprocity in trade? A paper read before the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, October 1, 1886*, by Hon. Thomas H. Dudley. No. 2, *Reduction of internal taxes. An address before the New York Tariff Convention, November 29, 1881 (condensed)*, by Hon. William D. Kelley. No. 3, *American farmers and the tariff of 1883. Being an analysis of some of the food and crude materials provisions of the present tariff*, by Hon. John L. Hayes. No. 4, *A science based on assumptions. A paper in the International Review for March, 1882*, by Hon. William D. Kelley. No. 5, *Defense of our protective policy. Extracts from a speech delivered in the United States Senate, December 7, 1886*, by Hon. Justin S. Morrill. No. 6, *Free raw materials and a foreign market*, by Alexander H. Jones. No. 7, *Producers and consumers. Some plain facts which show how protection benefits all the people of our country*. No. 8, *Speaker Carlisle denies a motion to repeal the tobacco taxes*. Tract No. 7 was evidently an effective one; it was included in the 1886 and 1888 series, though the contents varied somewhat each time. The chief topics discussed in this tract in 1887 were as follows: Wages and living under protection in Minnesota, What we export to foreign countries, How one protective duty reduced prices, The delusion of low prices, Protection has increased our foreign commerce, The bugbear of high duties, Prices of iron and steel and cost of transportation, and Why the South seceded and why the Southern Confederacy failed. Popular excerpts from other sources are interspersed.

For assistance in identifying the tracts referred to by Hay and Swank, I am indebted to the reference librarians of the Minnesota Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Library of Congress, Ridgway Library, Newberry Library, and the Oberlin College Library. The first four named have the largest collections of the tracts referred to in this article.

Minnesota, hence the judicious circulation of political literature is attended with greater difficulties than in the older states where the party organization is so near perfect, and to circulate them indiscriminately would be useless, and might result in more harm than good. For political documents to produce the best results they should go direct to the address of the voter at his post office, and not in such a way as would lead him to believe that someone was endeavoring to influence him. The only plan which I am now able to suggest would be, to secure some intelligent well informed republican in every county of the State to prepare a careful list of the republicans of his County who have a leaning toward free trade (and I regret that there are many of them in Minnesota) giving their post office address, nationality and such other information as would be of value in circulating the documents, and also a list of moderate democrats who might be influenced by the "logic of facts", and send to these from time to time such tracts as would be deemed from the information so obtained most influential with them. In many instances such lists could be obtained without cost, but in other instances it would be necessary to pay someone to prepare them. In fact it was my experience when connected with the republican organization in Indiana where I formerly resided that to obtain the best political work it was necessary to pay the men on whom we relied to do it.

I do not know the exact proportion, but I think at least one eighth of the voters of Minnesota are of Scandinavian origin, and many of them can neither read, write or speak any other than their native language, hence it might be well if you could have some of the tracts printed in these languages.

It occurs to me that another good method of educating the people of this state to a proper understanding of the tariff question, would be through the local papers, I mean by this the Country papers, but little attention, as you know, is paid to the editorial department of the Country newspapers, in some instances this is because they are managed by men who have not the ability or education to write editorials, but in the majority of cases I think it is rather because in the multiplicity of duties devolving upon the publisher of a Country paper, he cannot find time for writing. I think the majority of the republican editors in Minnesota are loyal to the republican doctrine of protection, and if they could be furnished from week to week with new fresh editorial matter upon the tariff, which had in a measure a local application, I think they would gladly publish it.

The plan which I have outlined you will doubtless think involves considerable expense and trouble, but I think the "game is worth the candle," for as a result of its adoption and execution Minnesota would send five republican protectionists to the next Congress instead of one which is all we have in the present Congress.

If I can be of any service in aiding to disseminate the doctrine of protection it will give me pleasure to render it, and any letters of inquiry addressed to me I will endeavor to answer more promptly than I have your last,

Very truly,
[E. G. HAY]

V

PHILADELPHIA, June 20, 1887

Eugene G. Hay, Esq.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I duly received your favor of the 9th instant and thank you for its fullness and completeness. The situation in your State seems to be hedged about by difficulties. I will say to you confidentially that a year ago I wrote to Senator McMillan and Senator Sabin,¹² offering them tariff tracts *ad libitum* free of cost if they would only arrange a plan for their distribution. Sabin showed some interest in the subject, but McMillan did not even answer my letters. I suppose he was afraid of the Free Trade sentiment in your State. I subsequently wrote to Governor Ramsey making a similar offer, but he answered substantially as you have done, that no machinery for the distribution of reading matter existed in Minnesota. The editor of your Scandinavian journal at Minneapolis wrote a letter to a distinguished politician concerning the tariff question in your State which was referred to me. He made practically the same suggestion that you do, that tracts should be printed in the Scandinavian language. We have never yet printed any Scandinavian tracts, but I presume we will have to do so.

I have recently sent a small package of tracts to every Republican and Greenback editor in your State. I will now send to them another package accompanied by a printed offer in hand-bill form to supply tracts to all who may ask for them. This may create a demand for English tracts. We could then follow it up with an offer to send Scandinavian tracts. Would you advise me to translate Senator Morrill's speech? It seems to me to be the best tract we have for translation. An early reply will much oblige.

Truly Yours,

JAMES M. SWANK

VI

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 12, 1888

E. G. Hay, Esq.,
Minneapolis.

Dear Sir:

We have had some trouble in making up the right kind of tracts for circulation in your State. We have, however, finally adopted six tracts which are now being printed.¹³ I send you inclosed proof copies of two

¹² Dwight May Sabin was Senator from 1883 to 1889, and Samuel J. R. McMillan, from 1875 to 1887. McMillan's successor, Cushman K. Davis, mentioned in succeeding letters, held office until 1900. Sabin, McMillan, and Davis all had long experience in Minnesota politics.

¹³ The tracts sent were in all probability the first six of the 1888 series published by the Industrial League. Their titles were as follows: No. 1, *The farmers and the tariff: an address delivered at the meeting of the Farmer's Congress at Chicago, November 11, 1887* (condensed), by Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of New Jersey. No. 2, *The western view of the tariff*. Reprinted from the *Forum* for December, 1887, by Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, late Minister from the United States to Germany, ex-member of Congress, etc. No. 3, *How protection benefits farmers and*

of them. Two more will be sent to you on Saturday and two more next week. Please read them carefully as you may receive them, and decide which of them should be translated into Swedish. If you think that the translating should be done in Minneapolis or St. Paul we will pay for the work. I think, however, that the Mss. of the translations should be sent to me. We could then have the printing done here in good style. I presume that you would want to translate about two tracts out of the whole six we are printing. Numbers one and three, which I send you today, strike me as being those which you would most likely wish to translate.

Senator Davis wrote me a very pleasant letter saying that he would cooperate in our movement. As soon as our tracts are ready I will communicate with him.

Have you made any arrangements for the systematic distribution of the tracts? I intend to send you 100,000 copies in English, Swedish and Norwegian, if the latter is necessary.

Yours Truly,
JAMES M. SWANK

VII

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 20th, 1888

James M. Swank, Esq. [Draft or Copy]
Sec. Industrial League
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Sir:

On the 17th inst. I wrote you acknowledging the receipt of your letters of the 12th and 14th with tariff tracts enclosed. Since I have carefully read them all. I agree with you that tract No. 1 should be translated. I had thought upon reading the speech in full which you gave me while I was in your city that I would condense it for translation and what you have done is what I contemplated. I think however that the first seven instead of the first 4 pages of tract No. 6 should be translated, and I also think it would be well to translate a part or all of tract No. 3. They should be translated into both the Swedish and Norwegian languages as our Scandinavian population is about equally divided, the difference if any being in favor of the Norwegians there being comparatively few Danes.

As I understood from either yourself or Mr. Wharton,¹⁴ you have no one in Philadelphia competent to translate them, hence it must be done *mechanics: a series of short tariff essays by various writers. No. 4, Reduction of internal taxes: an address before the New York Tariff Convention, November 29, 1881 (condensed), by Hon. William D. Kelley. No. 5, European wages: a speech delivered at a meeting of the Home Market Club, of Boston, October 19, 1887 (condensed), by Hon. William P. Frye, of Maine. No. 6, Producers and consumers: some plain facts which show how protection benefits all the people of our country.*

¹⁴ Joseph Wharton (1826-1909), uncle of Wharton Barker, was a wealthy Quaker business leader of Philadelphia. He was a director in many manufacturing, railroad, and banking corporations, and the owner of iron, glass, and steel works. He purchased nickel ore deposits near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and established nickel works at Camden, New Jersey, which soon gained international fame, because of their advanced metallurgical technique. He was a large contributor to Republican campaign funds, and for years served as chairman of the executive council of the Industrial League of America. He endowed the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania.

here. I think I can have it done at a very moderate cost and taking your letter for authority I will have tract No. 1 translated at once, and unless I hear from you in a few days after you receive this letter, the first seven pages of No. 6 also. If you are prepared to print them in these languages and have the proof read, I think the manuscript should be sent to you. We have several Scandinavian printing offices here where the work could be done. I will have time to hear from you in answer to this however before the translating is done and will await your orders in this regard.

We had in this city on Wednesday a conference of about 200 of the leading Republicans from the various parts of the State, and are commencing the work of Club organization in every part of the State, and will soon have much better facilities for circulating literature than we have ever had before. As I told you when in your city we are going to have a very hard up hill fight, but our people seem to realize it and are taking hold with energy and determination and intend to commence the work at once.

I think you told me that you were acquainted with Hon. R. B. Langdon¹⁵ of this city. I wish you would write to him and tell him of the work we are undertaking and enlist him in it, he is all right and I think a letter from you would get him interested with us and he would be of great service. I am willing to devote all of the time I can spare from my business to this work, but not being actively engaged in politics the time which I can give to it is limited.

We will hold a State Convention of Republican Clubs in this City on Feb. 2nd and if you will send me some English tracts by that date can use them and after that date we will be prepared to give them tolerably general circulation.

Very truly,
E G HAY

VIII

PHILADELPHIA, January 23, 1888

E. G. Hay, Esq.,
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Dear Sir:

I have your favor of the 20th instant and have shown it to Mr. Wharton, who is much pleased to know that the work of organization in your State is going on so actively. By this time you have received my letter of last week advising you to have the translations made of Tract No. 1. I still think it wise, as was mentioned while you were in this city, that only *one* tract should be translated at a time. It can be followed afterwards by others. Please, therefore, have Tract No. 1, translated into both Swedish and Norwegian. It can, I presume, be printed in eight pages. It appears to me now that it might be best to have the printing of these two tracts done in your city. I suggest, therefore, that you have an edition printed of say 25,000 copies in Swedish and 25,000 in Norwegian, preserving the type so that a larger edition can be printed if found necessary. These 50,000 tracts in all may cost about \$200. I will remit you that amount in advance if you wish, and will be responsible for any additional cost, if there should be any.

¹⁵ Robert B. Langdon (1826-1895) was a prominent business man of Minneapolis. He served as a state senator for nine years and was a delegate to four Republican national conventions.

I will carefully examine Tracts No. 3 and 6, to which you refer, and will write you again concerning the translation of them.

You should receive this week the 20,000 English tracts which I sent you last week. They were shipped by the Union Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and it may be necessary for you to inquire for them at the freight office in your city.

I will write to Mr. Langdon as you suggest. Please let me know whether the whole four tracts which I have sent to you are adapted to your State.

Very Truly Yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

IX

January 25, [188]8

R. B. Langdon, Esq.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Inclosed I send you a copy of a confidential circular which we sent to some of our members a few weeks ago, after it had been earnestly recommended to us by members of the National Committee and other Republican friends that we should at once print and distribute in the West a large number of Protective tariff tracts. Thus far we have collected about \$4,000 for the purpose mentioned. We have already printed 700,000 copies of what I send you by this mail. All our tracts are printed in English. I have already sent to Mr. E. G. Hay, of your city, for distribution, 20,000 copies of these tracts. We are ready to send 100,000 additional tracts to Minnesota as soon as your Republican Clubs are fully organized.

Mr. Hay writes to me that it would be necessary to translate some of these tracts into Swedish and Norwegian, and I have advised him to have this done at Minneapolis, and to have as many copies printed as may be necessary. As this work may entail considerable expense, and as the depression in the iron trade may make it somewhat difficult for me to raise the \$10,000 we have proposed to raise for use in the Northwest, I take the liberty of writing to you to inquire whether you can not undertake the task of collecting among the Protectionist Republicans of your city a sum of money sufficient to pay for translating and printing the Swedish and Norwegian tracts. The sum needed will probably not exceed \$500. I will be glad if you would see Mr. Hay about this matter.

I write to you personally because of your prominence in the Republican party of your State. I also write to you for another reason. The prosperity of this country must depend upon the maintenance of our Protective policy, and I have thought that as a business man you would be glad to help in any proper effort to maintain this policy. I would have written to your partner, A. H. Linton, instead of to you, but I knew that Lownie had not taken that active part in political matters that you have done.

Very truly yours,
JAMES M. SWANK¹⁶

¹⁶ The copy of this letter which Swank sent to Hay is among the Hay Papers. Later letters of Feb. 2, and Feb. 9, indicate that Mr. Langdon was not responsive.

X

PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1888

E. G. Hay, Esq.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mr. Hay:

I have your letter of the 9th instant. I wrote you a letter some days ago asking you to call on Mr. Langdon for assistance and as my letter crossed yours I will not remit you the \$20[0] you mention until I hear from you that Mr. Langdon has refused to do anything. Our expenses are so heavy that I am anxious to have Republicans in the different States help us in this work if they will. But you can rely on the \$20[0].

I am glad to know that you are perfecting arrangements for a thorough canvass of your State.

Please tell the printers of the Swedish and Norwegian translations of Tract No. 1 that I may order several thousand copies from them, to be sent to Iowa and Nebraska. Ask them to please give me the price they would charge me for an edition of 10,000 copies of each translation. Please send me copies of each tract. I inclose my address so that the printers can write to me their terms.

Very Truly Yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

XI

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16, '88

Hon. John Sherman
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

I enclose you a memorandum of the quantity of tariff tracts we have distributed since the middle of January.¹⁷ We have a large force of clerks at work endorsing wrappers, and putting up packages. We send the packages largely through the mail to reliable parties whose names we have procured from members of Congress and Senators Manderson, Chandler, Stockbridge¹⁸ and others. Most of our tracts are, however, sent direct to the Chairmen of State or County Committees. We will keep on with this work through the winter, paying particular attention to Western States.

I write to you particularly to ask you to see Senator Davis and Senator Sabin of Minnesota. A year ago I tried to interest Senator McMillan and Senator Sabin in our tariff work, but they would not take hold of it. Two months ago I had a very pleasant letter from Senator Davis, saying he would establish connections for me in Minnesota, but he has not done this. I have, however, made arrangements with the active men of the new Republican club organizations at Minneapolis for the distribution of our tracts. I have sent them two dry goods box-fuls and \$200 in cash to enable them to translate one of our tracts into Swedish and Norwegian. But they have no money to carry on their work. What I want is to have Senator Davis take an active interest in this matter and help our friends in Minnesota to pick up some money to meet organiza-

¹⁷ The totals according to this memorandum were 281,911.

¹⁸ Senator Manderson was from Nebraska, Chandler from New Hampshire, and Stockbridge from Maine.

tion expenses and the further expense of distributing our tariff literature, which we are willing to ship to them *ad libitum* and without cost.

I would write direct to the Senator again on the subject, but have thought that you could get him to go to work in the manner indicated while I might fail.

Senator Sawyer and Senator Spooner of Wisconsin are also slow to take hold of this question of tariff literature. I have had no trouble in Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Michigan. Illinois I will attend to later on. I do not regard the vote of that state as in any danger. In previous years we have thoroughly educated its people on the question of Protection. I suppose you know, too, that our people here have helped William Penn Nixon¹⁹ in his financial difficulties, and thus enabled the Republican party to have a Protectionist organ in Chicago.

I have a letter from a high authority in Indiana, who says that Judge Gresham's tariff views are the same as those of the *Chicago Tribune*.²⁰

Very truly yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

XII

PHILADELPHIA, April 2, 1888

Hon. John Sherman,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

I inclose you a statement of the number of tariff tracts this office has distributed since the 15th of January last.²¹ You will be interested in observing where the tracts have been sent. I have sent about one-half of the tracts to the Chairmen of State Central Committees who agreed to distribute them carefully, and the other half has been sent to the Chairmen of County Committees, Republican Clubs, and individual applicants. This work will be continued. Since writing you last I have opened communications with the Republican League of Minnesota, which I have offered 50,000 tracts free of cost. I will let you know what progress I make in that State.

The Republican party is all right on the tariff issue in the following States, and there will be no defections from our ranks in any of them on the issue raised by Mr. Cleveland: Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oregon. I reach this conclusion as the result of a winter's reading of a large number of letters from all the States mentioned, and as the result, too, of much reading of Western newspapers. Minnesota is the only State of which I have any doubt on the tariff question, and, if I had been properly helped three months ago, that State would also be all right today. I send you the proof of a new tract, to which we will give a wide circulation.

Very truly yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

¹⁹ William Penn Nixon and his brother, O. W. Nixon, purchased the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*; the former became its editor.

²⁰ The *Chicago Tribune* during this period vigorously opposed high protection. Walter Q. Gresham was United States circuit judge for the seventh district with headquarters at Chicago. He had been postmaster general and secretary of the treasury in President Arthur's cabinet. In 1893, attracted by the tariff views and reform ideals of President Cleveland, Gresham accepted the portfolio of state tendered to him by Cleveland.

²¹ The figures had doubled since the February memorandum.

XIII

PHILADELPHIA, April 9, 1888

Hon. John Sherman,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

I have at last been able to make the right kind of connections in Minnesota. I inclose you a letter from the Secretary of the Republican League of the State which has the right ring to it. I have replied that we will send all the tracts asked for immediately. We had previously sent 20,000 tracts to Minnesota, and the 60,000 we will now send will cover the State pretty well. I have also sent a package of our tariff tracts to every Republican and Greenback newspaper in the State. Please return Mr. Bixby's letter.

Very truly yours,
JAMES M. SWANK

XIV

IOWA CITY NATIONAL BANK

IOWA CITY, April 23 1888

Hon Wm B Allison
Washington D C

Friend Allison

The tariff will I think be a leading question in the coming contest. It seems to me the great mistake in the Presidents program is that his policy looks to the encouragement by custom duties of the manufacturing interest solely leaving the much larger interest, the agricultural, to take care of itself while supporting the other—instance the removal of duty on wool as raw material. This idea seems to run through his whole plan. I think *all* Agricultural pursuits should be cared for as far as possible as well as Manufacturing. I would keep a duty on wool, would put a duty on hides—also on sugar—at least until the making sugar from Sorghum and Beets is fully tested. In short care for Agriculture as well as manufacturing. To make farmers pay tax on all they buy and get nothing on what they sell is not fair.

The abominable "Trusts" or combinations of Manufacturers & others to keep up prices by preventing competition is producing a great deal of prejudice against a high tariff among farmers and any party that is identified with these combinations will suffer. Are we to have a President from Iowa? I earnestly hope so.

Very truly,

S J KIRKWOOD ²²

P. S. Can you spare me the bound volumes of the Cong Record for the last congress? I want to prepare a Campaign speech.

²² S. J. Kirkwood was actively interested in farming and milling in Iowa. He served as state senator and distinguished himself as governor; to this office he was elected three times. From 1876 to 1881 he was United States senator. After serving as Secretary of Interior under Garfield, he retired from public life.

XV

[ca. July] '88

Gen. Benj. Harrison [Draft or Copy]
Indianapolis, Ind.

My dear General:

During the few days that I was with you immediately after the Convention²⁸ I had no opportunity of talking to you except very briefly upon the situation in this State upon the tariff question, nor had I then had time to read our national platform. I have, since then, read with care the platform and since my return have talked as fully as I have had time, with our candidates for Congress in the country district, as well as with many of the leading Republicans of the State.

By commencing almost a year ago we had succeeded in checking the rising tide among the republicans, in favor of what the democrats are pleased to call "revenue reform." In all of our discussions both in public speech and private interview, we proceeded upon the understanding and belief that the republican platform of this year would be very similar to that of 1884, and that a speech made by Senator Sherman (I think before the Home Market Club of Boston) last winter, in which he said "the tariff ought to be carefully revised with a view of correcting any inequalities or incongruities that have grown out of the change of values since the passage of the act of 1883", was a correct interpretation of republican doctrine. But the bravado with which the tariff plank of our platform is concluded has in a measure undone much of the good work we believed we had accomplished, and the fact that the promise in the platform of revision or correction of the tariff laws is so stinted, I fear will make it uphill work for us in the campaign and perhaps cause us to again lose one or two of our Congressional districts, all of which we had hoped to regain. The republicans of Minnesota (with a few exceptions) are not free traders but they are not as radical protectionists as Mr. McKinley and many of the eastern republicans. Your own views upon this subject as you have expressed them in public speech in other years, while not going quite so far as many of our republicans would desire, I think would be satisfactory to the large majority in this State, and I write this letter to suggest that if it may be done without displeasing our friends in the east, a word in your letter of acceptance in the direction which I have indicated would be of great value to us in this state. Rest assured however that we are at work and whether the suggestion I make can be adopted or not we will overcome what ever defection there may be on this subject and give you a majority in November.

Yours Very truly,

[E G HAY]

²⁸ The Republican National Convention closed on June 25. Hay went from Chicago to Indianapolis to serve as Harrison's private secretary until a permanent appointment could be made.

XVI

AMERICAN NICKEL WORKS

(Confidential)

CAMDEN, N. J. July. 7 1888

Hon Wm B Allison ²⁴*Dear Sir*

No opportunity occurred while I was in Washington to say a few things to you alone, and I say them therefore very briefly to you now in confidence

1 We all know that the legitimate expenses of a general election are heavy, and that failure to provide for them sometimes entails defeat

I am in position to know that the success of appeals for funds among the steel rail men (who are in a position of danger now with the duty at \$17.) will be jeopardised if the party they are asked to support proposes a measure that looks to them nearly as fatal as that proposed by the other party

If you propose a duty on steel rails lower than the present duty on iron rails I cannot talk forcibly to the weak-in-the-faith among us ²⁵

2 Senator Blodgett of New Jersey spent a day with Genl. Elias Wright of Atlantic City N. J. shortly before his election to the U. S. Senate, upon business of mine in South Jersey which Genl. Wright had in charge He then told Wright that he was a Free trader from principle, and that if there was no such thing as a tariff he would never go for making one You can judge from this, which Wright told me today, what you have to expect from him.

3 Senator Payne of Ohio is interested in the ores of Sudbury Canada which contain nickel, and which they desire to have me use He authorized me to say this to your committee if I thought best, for he does not mean to appear to act for his own interest I saw no proper opportunity to mention this to you or to the committee without saying it to others who have no right to know it

In writing today to Senator Payne I take occasion to say that while your committee would not impart to us any specific information of what you meant to do, I am satisfied that your aim is to report a bill better than the Mills bill, which can command the votes of such men as he who have industrial interests

²⁴ Allison was chairman of the Senate committee on finance. The House of Representatives, controlled by the Democrats, had passed the Mills Bill. When the Senate, controlled by the Republicans, received the Mills Bill, it was referred to Allison's committee which wrote a new high tariff bill known as the Allison Bill. The latter was passed by the Senate in October, 1888. Neither bill could become law, but both served to clarify party positions on the tariff during the campaign that was being waged.

²⁵ The Mills Bill provided for a rate of \$14.00 per ton on iron and steel "T" rails weighing not over twenty-five pounds to the yard, and \$15.00 on punched iron or steel flat rails. The Allison Bill provided for a rate of \$14.00 on all types of rails. In the McKinley Tariff Act the rate provided for all rails was \$12.00: the Dingley Tariff Act lowered this to \$7.00.

Tariff Strategy and Propaganda, 1887-1888 93

I have sent to him a copy of the clauses concerning nickel which seem to me best, and of which I gave Senator Hiscock a copy for the use of your committee.

Yours truly

JOSEPH WHARTON

[*Note on margin of sheet:*] Mr. Randall²⁶ told me yesterday morning that he has no objection to a higher rate than \$14.- on steel rails.

XVII

HOME MARKET CLUB²⁷

BOSTON, July 24th, 1888

Hon. W. B. Allison,

U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Will you please furnish me a copy of the Senate Bill as soon as it is complete?

You will be interested to know that we are sending a great many documents into Iowa. I send you a sample package of some of our latest Flyers.

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Clarkson last week at the rooms of the National Committee in New York.

Yours very truly,

HERBERT RADCLYFFE, SR.

XVIII

PHILADELPHIA, August 16, 1888

Hon. William B. Allison,

United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

In another envelope I send you some letters which I have recently received from Dr. Beardsley²⁸ concerning the Sixth and Eighth Congressional Districts in your State. I have asked Colonel Quay for an appropriation of \$2,000, and this sum will be forwarded, if it has not already been sent. I have advised Dr. Beardsley that he will get the money. If he goes into the fight in earnest he has a good chance of regaining the two districts. I have already shipped large quantities of our tracts to the Doctor, and within the past week have shipped him 11,500 tracts, to be exclusively used in the two districts mentioned.²⁹

²⁶ Mr. Samuel J. Randall, an outstanding Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, supported the cause of high protection in spite of his party's position.

²⁷ The Home Market Club was organized in 1887 in Boston by a group of New England manufacturers interested in the tariff. It is still a flourishing club. In 1887 and 1888 its secretary was Herbert Radclyffe, Sr. J. S. Clarkson, and his brother referred to in this letter, owned and edited *The Iowa State Register*, one of the most powerful newspapers in Iowa during the 1880's. He was vice-chairman of the Republican national committee in 1888.

²⁸ Dr. Beardsley was state Republican chairman in Iowa during the campaign of 1888.

²⁹ Some candidates were not so fortunate in securing assistance. Senator Sewell of New Jersey, for example, applied to the Republican national committee for help to the extent of \$10,000 to \$20,000 during the campaign of 1890 and was told that unfortunately none could be extended by the national committee, but that

After much delay, caused by frequent trips away from home and work for the National Committee, I have at last been able to sit down to a thorough study of the Mills bill, which I have promised Senator Aldrich I would do for your Committee. I will mail the Senator some comments to-morrow.

Please return Dr. Beardsley's letters in the envelope which I inclose with them. I was unable to see Henderson³⁰ about your campaign. I wish you would get him to back up Beardsley in any way that he can. Do not take the time to write to me.

Very Hastily Yours,

JAMES M. SWANK

XIX

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1888

Hon. Wm. B Allison,

U. S Senate, Washington.

(Confidential)

Dear Senator:

On Monday last we sent to Dr. Beardsley, at Des Moines, \$2,000 to be used in Weaver's and Anderson's districts at the Doctor's discretion. We have been earnestly appealed to for aid in Governor Gear's district. As so much of our funds have already been paid over to the National Committee we are not able at present to help the Governor, but we have, of course, some prospect of being in better financial position later in the campaign. I will keep this matter in mind.

I wish your committee could see its way clear to make the duty on nickel 20 cents a pound instead of 15 cents, which is the rate in the present tariff. Prior to 1883 the duty was 30 cents, but the act of that year cut the duty in two, making it 15 cents. Mr. Wharton will now be satisfied with 20 cents, and I sincerely hope you can gratify his wish in this matter. No American consumer has ever yet suffered by furnishing adequate protection to producers, and I am sure the consumers of nickel would not have to pay any more for this article if the duty were 20 cents than if it were 15 cents. Mr. Wharton is at Newport and he has not asked me to write to you on this subject, but I know how deeply he feels about it, and as he gives me such valuable help in the collection of campaign funds and in otherwise helping our party I have thought that you would like to gratify him in a matter which involves no question of principle.

Very Truly Yours,

JAMES M. SWANK

perhaps the congressional committee could help in the New Jersey campaign. There-upon Sewell wrote to a high official of the national committee that he had made himself liable to an uncomfortable extent and that if anyone needed assistance, he did. He continued: "What in thunder is the use of breaking our necks to pass tariff bills, if the people who are going to make everlasting fortunes out of the action of the Republican Party, do not come up liberally to sustain it,—after all we have done it seems to me that whenever I want anything, or want to accomplish any great object, such as I do now to carry the state of New Jersey, I am left to do it with the assistance of such men as our friend Hobart, and without any contribution of any consequence from men that ought to come up . . ."

³⁰ David B. Henderson (1840-1906) was a distinguished member of the House of Representatives from Iowa. He was first elected in 1882 and served till 1903; from 1899 to 1903 he was Speaker of the House.

XX

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 26, 1888

Hon. Wm. B. Allison,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

(Confidential)

Dear Senator:

The announcement in the *Philadelphia Press* this morning that its correspondent had been "officially" advised that the duty on steel rails had been fixed at \$14 in your bill created a great deal of consternation among our steel-rail friends. I earnestly hope that the statement was unauthorized and untrue. I have my own reasons for begging you and our friends in the Committee to keep the rate at \$15.68, and these reasons I will frankly state to you. I would go to Washington immediately instead of writing to you but I can not possibly get away.

My reasons are these: I have worked hard in this office for many years to promote the interests of the Republican party, collecting money and distributing documents in every campaign since 1872. Our Association has been especially active in this work since 1880. I have personally raised large sums of money for the National and Congressional Committees, and in addition to this we have every year for many years printed and distributed large quantities of tariff documents. I inclose you a statement of our work for this year down to the 1st instant.³¹ This year we have undertaken to raise more money than in any previous campaign. I have personally appealed for financial aid for the National Committee to the Bessemer steel rail manufacturers, assuring them at every turn I have made that their interests were safe in the hands of the Republican party. I have particularly assured them that the duty on steel rails had been fixed in your bill at \$15.68. Upon the strength of the assurances I have given these friends they have agreed to help

³¹ A general statement of the work of the Association preceded this table showing the distribution of tracts. *Bulletin* of the American Iron and Steel Association, Nov. 7 and 14, 1888, p. 333.

States and Territories.	Number.	States and Territories.	Number.	States and Territories.	Number.
Maine.....	58,439	Tennessee.....	44,172	Wyoming.....	6
New Hampshire.....	27,716	Alabama.....	2,492	Montana.....	67
Vermont.....	85	Mississippi.....	46	New Mexico.....	32
Massachusetts.....	2,018	Missouri.....	35,557	Arizona.....	
Rhode Island.....	7,690	Louisiana.....	326	Utah.....	
Connecticut.....	32,765	Arkansas.....	6,481	Idaho.....	30
New York.....	60,497	Texas.....	6,881	Nevada.....	1,135
New Jersey.....	15,161	Ohio.....	44,838	Oregon.....	50,944
Pennsylvania.....	28,978	Indiana.....	135,472	Washington Territory.....	1,564
Delaware.....	1,669	Illinois.....	103,991	California.....	7,510
Maryland.....	15,259	Michigan.....	81,106	Indian Territory.....	
Virginia.....	13,459	Wisconsin.....	73,751	District of Columbia.....	2,093
West Virginia.....	56,227	Iowa.....	106,942	Foreign.....	122
North Carolina.....	9,508	Minnesota.....	125,519	Miscellaneous.....	8,387
South Carolina.....	47	Kansas.....	92,230		
Georgia.....	300	Nebraska.....	96,057	Total to Nov. 5th....	1,387,864
Florida.....	862	Dakota.....	592		
Kentucky.....	25,757	Colorado.....	3,084		

Chairman Quay's Committee to a considerable sum of money, which I have hoped would reach about \$75,000 or \$80,000. I have already collected and paid over to the Committee \$37,000, all contributed by the steel rail manufacturers, \$2,000 of which were sent to Dr. Beardsley. I am just making arrangements to call on the steel-rail manufacturers to duplicate the checks they have already paid.

All this is *strictly confidential*. How can I go ahead with this work if the impression should be generally created that your bill fixes the duty on steel rails at \$14? Human nature is human nature all the world over.

We would not for one moment think of using any improper means to secure the favorable consideration by your Committee of the steel-rail duty. But our friends on the Committee are *Republicans*, striving for the success of our party in the coming election. I beg you, therefore, to make it easy for me, and not difficult or maybe impossible, to secure the \$35,000 or \$40,000 of additional collections which I hope to make from the steel-rail manufacturers.

If I have seemed in this letter to be over-anxious I know that you will put yourself in my place and imagine the position which I sustain toward the people who have money to give for the success of Republican principles.

Very Truly Yours,

JAMES M. SWANK

XXI

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Nov. 20th, 1892

*My dear General Tracy:*³²

We now have any number of prophets after the event; but as far as I remember you are the only one of our leaders who foretold our overthrow in advance. Do you remember the dinner of the New England Society in Brooklyn, just after the election of 1888, when you and I sat together? You at that time made certain predictions which have been fulfilled with curious exactness.

We were talking over the policies to be pursued when we entered into power in Washington; especially with regard to the tariff and the election laws; and you dwelt very strongly upon the danger we would be in if our people took up these questions in the wrong spirit. As to the tariff you laid special stress upon your fear lest we might key the duties up too high, in a spirit of ultra-protection and thereby run the risk of a great rebuff at the polls; and you also spoke very strongly as to the inadvisability of legislation providing for Federal control of elections, expressing your belief that the people at large, whether rightly or wrongly, would not sustain such an attempt.

Events certainly seem to have made good your predictions.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

³² Benjamin F. Tracy (1830-1915), a Civil War veteran, was a prominent member of the bar in Brooklyn and held various local, state, and Federal offices. As a justice of the New York court of appeals he established a fine progressive record. He served efficiently as Secretary of the Navy under President Harrison. His civil service policy in the navy yards was highly praised by the supporters of civil service reform.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Selected Essays of J. B. Bury. Edited by HAROLD TEMPERLEY.
(Cambridge: University Press. 1930. Pp. xxxii, 249. 12 s.
6 d.)

STUDENTS of history and historiography will welcome this publication, of which the varied content is indicated by the headings of its three parts: General Scope and Method of History, Freedom of Thought, etc., Byzantine History. They will find here, for example, the Inaugural Lecture on the Science of History and the Creighton Lecture on the Constitution of the Later Roman Empire, each a masterpiece of clear thinking and lucid presentation, the latter a godsend to teachers of Byzantine history. The famous thesis that history is "simply a science, no less and no more" of which the genesis is explained happily by Mr. Temperley in his introductory essay on the Historical Ideas of J. B. Bury, is supplemented in the article entitled Cleopatra's Nose by an examination of the rôle played by accident in the historical process. Since "it is clear that if a phenomenon containing lawless elements may occur, scientific research is hopeless", the thesis is sustained by a number of apt examples that an accident in history is "the valuable collision of two or more independent chains of causes". Bury holds (The Perspective of Knowledge) that the dominance nowadays of the idea of progress makes every present intelligible only in the light of every past and elevates the adequate recording by historians of every present into a work of profound significance for every future. He maintains that the best hope of doing justice to the intricacy and complexity of historical phenomena rests with the investigator of modern history. He contends that the history of mankind differs from the history of biological organisms through being subjected to the action of reason (Darwinism and History). An historian *must* change his ideology every so often; for he too is an historical object subject to the general rule of historical relativity. Bury made no fetish of consistency. In 1903 he affirmed that "a science cannot safely be controlled or guided by a subjective interest"; in 1926 he wrote that no effective history can be, has been, or ever will be written "without a definite bias". There is a Mommsen of the *Staatsrecht* and the *Corpus* and the *Chronicles* and a Mommsen of the *Roman History*; and there is a Bury of *The Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos* and a Bury of the *Survey of Byzantine History*—both in this book. The former was printed in the *English Historical Review* in 1889, twenty-three years before *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, to which in a sense, with a lacuna, and on a different scale, it forms a sequel.

The latter was the Introduction to the *Cambridge Medieval History* (1923), volume IV., *The Eastern Roman Empire*. It can be taken as indicating the general conception with which Bury approached the field of his most intensive historical studies. Both by his choice of speciality and in his theoretical discussions Bury fought stoutly against the doctrine that historians should play favorites. In his judgment history has become too serious a matter of public concern for men to be satisfied with less than the totality of its teaching. "In no field, I may add", he said in a strangely misunderstood passage of his inaugural, "have the recognition of continuity and the repudiation of eclecticism been more notable or more fruitful than in a field in which I happen to be specially interested, the history of the Eastern Roman empire, the foster-mother of Russia." It is permitted to us to add that no one has done more to bring this about than Bury himself.

Harvard University.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Ancient Corinth, with a Topographical Sketch of the Corinthia.
Part I., *From the Earliest Times to 404 B.C.* By J. G. O'NEILL,
PH.D., Professor at Maynooth College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 8, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 270. \$5.00.)

THE scope of this book is indicated by its title. Chapters I. and II. contain brief and, on the whole, satisfactory descriptions of the Corinthia, the city, and Acrocorinth, based upon the authority of previous writers and, in less degree, upon personal inspection. The stone wall across the Isthmus is ascribed to the time of the Persian invasion; but the most striking parts now preserved look to me like masonry of the fourth century or later. That Corinth was occupied in prehistoric times is abundantly proved by archæological evidence. In chapter III. that evidence is briefly stated, and more space is devoted to disproving the contention of the late Walter Leaf that Corinth is not mentioned in genuinely Homeric portions of the Homeric poems. In chapter IV. the cults of Aphrodite, Athena Hellotis, Medea, Hera Acraea, Melicertes-Palaemon, and Poseidon are derived from Northern Greek (Helladic) or Minoan sources. The traditional views concerning the Tyranny and the succeeding Constitution are supported in chapter V. against some comparatively recent theories, and in chapter VI., on the Colonial System and Early Foreign Relations of Corinth, various views of modern writers are discussed, with the result that the traditional views and dates are found to be generally correct. Pheidon of Argos is restored to the eighth century. Nor are any new facts established in the two succeeding chapters, on the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars; on the contrary, the accounts of Herodotus and Thucydides are accepted and supported by arguments against the theories of Cornford, Grundy, and

others. Nevertheless there is something new in the treatment of history from the point of view of Corinth and in the conclusion that "it was Corinth, not Lysander, that really overthrew Athens; for it was the Sicilian disaster . . . which proved the ruin of Athenian dominion. It was Corinth's influence in Sicily that provoked Athens' interference there. The downfall of Athens really dates from 413; Aegospotami merely marks the transition of her power to Sparta." Appendix I. calls attention to the persistence of the type of Corinthian coins and to the convenience of their standard for exchange with Athens and Aegina. In appendix II. the Lelantine War is dated in the latter part of the seventh century, and the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus (*cf. I.G. IX., i, p. 85*) in 459 B.C. There are ten plates, a list of abbreviations, a selected bibliography, and an index.

The book contains little that is new, but facts are well stated, and theories are discussed with scholarship and (which is often more important) common sense. The author has done a useful piece of work.

The Library of Congress.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

Histoire Romaine. Tome I., Des Origines à l'Achèvement de la Conquête, 133 avant J.-C. Par ETTORE PAIS, Professeur à l'Université de Rome, Sénateur du Royaume d'Italie. Adapté d'après le Manuscrit Italien, par JEAN BAYET, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Caen. [Histoire Générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz, membre de l'Institut.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1926. Pp. xxii, 663. 50 fr.)

THIS new work from the pen of one of the most voluminous writers in the field of Roman history may be regarded as a fresh presentation of the views which he has already set forth in his *Storia Critica di Roma*, *Storia dell'Italia Antica*, and other more comprehensive studies. In fact, it will be appreciated chiefly as a convenient and readable exposition of his point of view. It is, however, by no means a mere popular work of condensation, but is a scholarly treatment in every sense of the word, abundantly documented with references to both ancient and modern authorities. Each of the ten chapters has a special bibliography in addition to the general bibliography for Roman history at the beginning of the book which is intended to serve both for the present and for subsequent volumes of the series in this field. While comprehensive and selected with discrimination, this general bibliography is by no means complete nor up-to-date, and it omits such important works as Botsford's *Roman Assemblies* and Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.

An introduction of twenty-eight pages is devoted to a critical survey of the sources for early Roman history and a critique of certain modern tendencies in interpreting them. The prehistoric peoples of Italy and their cultures receive the scantest treatment possible and the Etruscans

fare but little better. As one might expect, Pais makes no attempt to write the political history of the regal period and the early centuries of the republic but contents himself with a reconstruction of the main lines of constitutional and social development. Only with the age of the Samnite Wars does he begin a connected historical narrative. Well over one-third of the text (286 out of 632 pages) is devoted to the period of the First and Second Punic Wars. The treatment of the latter struggle contains, in addition to a useful discussion of the sources with an inevitable comparison of Polybius and Livy, some very good character sketches of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus the Elder, and their lesser contemporaries. An interesting feature of the work consists in the surveys of cultural conditions for various periods down to the close of the third century, but unfortunately there is no corresponding section for the epoch 201-133 B.C. One also looks in vain for any discussion of the social and economic developments which led up to the crisis of the age of the Gracchi. Perhaps these topics have been reserved for a later volume.

As illustrations there are two double page maps, one of southern Italy and Sicily, the other of northern Greece and Macedonia, with eleven smaller maps and plans chiefly serving to explain battles and sieges, but there is no general map of the Mediterranean World nor one of the Roman Empire in 133 B.C. An index of proper names and a detailed table of contents conclude the volume.

The University of Michigan.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Cicerone e i suoi Tempi. Per EMANUELE CIACERI, Professore Ordinario della Reale Università di Napoli. Volume II., *Dal Consolato alla Morte (a. 63-43 a.C.)* (Rome: Albrighi, Segati, and Company. 1930. Pp. vi, 420. 45 lire.)

PROFESSOR CIACERI'S second and final volume, ending with an eloquent chapter *Cicerone e Noi* (375-99), follows at a reasonable interval after the first (1926), which carried his hero through the consulship (63). Scarcely half the size of the most thorough existing biography, only tolerably equipped with citations of the sources, and with very few references to modern scholarly work, it is obvious that the book was not calculated to supersede such a critical work as the indispensable Drumann-Groebe. It is rather the somewhat unfavorable estimate of the character of Cicero as first set forth in detail by Drumann, and later summarized in bitter language by Mommsen, that has aroused Professor Ciaceri to a prolonged reply. With questionable taste, temper, and logic, in the preface to his first volume, he published a manifesto against German scholarship over the heads of Drumann and Mommsen, and although this aspect of his work was somewhat coolly received by reviewers, he defiantly reiterates every word of his first pronunciamento and clearly regards it as a duty to write, as he styles it, "con pensiero italiano". This means that as an ardent Catholic, Italian, and Fascist,

he undertakes the defense of Cicero against Protestants, Germans, and what he calls "lo spirito democratico comiziale e la falsa concezione della illimitata libertà individuale" (p. xx) that ushered in the French Revolution.

I fear these generalizations are a bit sweeping. I presume that Martin Luther would pass for a pretty tolerable Protestant, having after a fashion invented the species, and yet a well-known remark of his would seem to indicate that he was unaware of the necessity of prejudice: "Cicero, ein weiser und fleissiger Mann, hat viel gelitten und getan. Ich hoffe, unser Herr Gott werde ihm und seines Gleichen gnädig sein", a sentiment which contrasts not unfavorably with the good Catholic Dante's consignment of the orator to Hell. To be sure, Professor Ciaceri is aware that the early Reformers were friendly to Cicero, but insists that there is an increasing hostility toward Rome among modern Protestants, a position in which I am quite unable to follow him.

As for the assumptions that practically all the Germans have united to vilify Cicero and have followed blindly the extravagances of Drumann and Mommsen, and that these latter, as representatives of the "Real-Politik" school of historians, are essentially responsible for a change of sentiment, one might remark, first, that Drumann's conception was severely censured in his own time (see his indignant protests in the preface to the first edition of his sixth volume), and the excessive hostility which characterized his and Mommsen's portrait, has been censured by W. S. Teuffel (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*), and by his revisers, Skutsch and Kroll, by Schwabe, Abeken, Weissenfels, Bernhardt, Ritschl, E. Curtius, Gardthausen, Nissen, E. Schwartz, F. Aly, Leo, O. E. Schmidt, Wilamowitz, Reitzenstein, F. Cauer, Heinze, M. Schneidewin, E. Horneffer, Hosius, and I doubt not many another. While as for Drumann and the Germans being the leaders in hostility toward Cicero, two very bitter characterizations are by Englishmen penned before Drumann wrote or was known. The real reasons for a relative decline in the reputation of Cicero are rather different. They are, first, the full recognition of the originality and priority of Greek thought; second, a much more thorough knowledge of the events of the period and the sources employed, which inevitably discloses a considerable number of misapprehensions, misrepresentations, and even downright mendacities in Cicero's works; and finally, a much more exacting demand for historical truth, no matter what established reputation may suffer. Professor Ciaceri's quarrel is essentially with men who put truth and sincerity in the first place and did not find as much of it in Cicero as they required for their conception of a consistent and honorable man. In the excess of their zeal, however, they behaved as though sincerity were not merely the first consideration but almost the only consideration upon which to base judgment, and in so doing they of course went quite too far, though doubtless no farther in one direction than Professor Ciaceri has so violently rebounded in another.

A single example of his method will suffice. In an effort to clear Cicero from the charge of outrageous political and moral inconsistency in undertaking the defense of the highly suspicious P. Sulla in 62, Ciaceri proceeds in this fashion (II. 8 ff.). He rejects as a mere "congettura calumniosa" the universally credited story that Cicero borrowed a huge sum of money from his client while still under indictment, and then lied boldly and adroitly about the transaction. This account is given in full detail by Gellius and the essence of it corroborated by the Sallustian *Invective*. The *Invective* Professor Ciaceri seems to refuse to believe for any detail and on any account, for no other reason, so far as I can discover, except that it contains a tradition hostile to Cicero (I. xxii f.).

The circumstantial account in Gellius is then dismissed thus: "Il racconto di Gellio comincia così: *Haec quoque disciplina rhetorica est, callide et cum astu res criminosas citra periculum confiteri, ut etc.* Come si vede, v'è la tesi d'una esercitazione retorica di scuola." But that conclusion by no means follows. What Gellius says is merely that oratorical training tends to give a man verbal (and moral) adroitness in squirming out of a very tight place in which he may be caught, a general statement which he proceeds to illustrate from the experience of Rome's greatest and most highly trained orator, where the use of a fictitious illustration would have been an absurdity. If this is false solely on the principle that it illustrates some aspect of oratorical training, then on the same principle every historical illustration in Quintilian must likewise be false.

The University of Illinois.

W. A. OLDFATHER.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A Short History of the French People. By CHARLES GUIGNEBERT, Professor in the University of Paris. Translated by F. G. RICHMOND. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 440; xxvi, 738. \$15.00.)

WHEN Professor Guignebert decided to use the word *Short* in his title it would seem that he must have had in mind, as his basis of comparison, some of the monumental histories of France, such as those sponsored by Lavissee, for this *Short History* consists of 1178 large pages, amounting to well over 350,000 words.

In broad outline, but not in detail, the allotment of space follows the prevailing tendency to give much and perhaps disproportionate attention to comparatively recent periods. Part I., covering the origins and the fifteen centuries from Caesar to Louis XI., occupies only a little more than a third of the space; in part II. the next three hundred years have only a sixth; nearly half of the book is devoted to the history of the last 140 years. Within these broad divisions, however, some portions are much condensed and others given comparatively generous attention. In the medieval portion the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have relatively large space, while in part III. the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras are

treated in much detail as compared with the period since 1815. To the reviewer it seems disproportionate to give nearly twice as much space to the quarter century from 1789 to 1815 as to the 115 years since Waterloo. It seems particularly unfortunate that the sixty years of the Third Republic should be dismissed in less than sixty pages.

The outstanding characteristic of the book is its sound scholarship. At every point it displays the most careful and painstaking investigation. The high standard which its distinguished author had previously shown in his well-known books upon religious history is fully maintained in this work of more general scope. His point of view is that of a liberal republican who believes in the principles of the Revolution but recognizes the debt that France owes to its kings, an anticlerical who has a deep respect for religion, an individualist who can look upon socialism without anger, and a patriot who is wholly free from chauvinism or narrow nationalism. His judgments upon persons, groups, and movements show a talent for getting at the heart of the matter and a spirit of fair dealing which gives the book exceptional value as an interpretation of French history. To some readers his estimates of the Napoleonic régimes may seem unduly severe. To the reviewer they appear to be thoroughly justified.

One characteristic, the reviewer fears, will prevent the book from getting the large number of readers its merits deserve. Professor Guignebert's aptitude for description is better than his talent in narration. Somehow he fails to get across to his readers the story of French history. One who turns to the book for the significant data or for a just estimate in regard to any particular person, transaction, or movement will be likely to find exactly what he seeks. But one who sits down to read the whole history for the story of how France came into existence and how it has gradually changed from epoch to epoch until it has become the France of to-day will rise with a sense of disappointment. Separately each element is put into admirable form, but a fusion of the whole in a way to arrest and hold the attention of the reader is lacking. Elaborate subdividing of the subject and the allotment of separate chapters to important phases of the story may be advantageous for description, but are a weakness as regards narration. It is hard to get a clear understanding of the internal changes which went on in France during the Revolution when practically all that is told about the gigantic foreign wars then in progress against nearly all of Europe is withheld until a subsequent chapter.

The book is dedicated to the American soldiers who attended the author's lectures at the Sorbonne in the spring of 1919. Apparently the original text has not yet been published. The basis for a satisfactory estimate upon the merits of the translation is therefore lacking. So far as one can judge the author has not been fortunate in his translator. In places it is manifest that the translator fails to understand the significance of the technical terms he attempts to render into English.

Dartmouth College.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Det Danske Folks Historie. Redigeret af AAGE FRIIS, AXEL LINVALD, M. MACKEPRANG. Bind IV., *Det Danske Folk under Kampen mellem Kongemagt og Adelsvælde*, af HANS LUND, POVL ENGELSTOFT, og M. MACKEPRANG; Bind V., *Det Danske Folk under den ældre Enevælde*, af KNUD FABRICIUS, HANS JENSEN, og TH. A. MÜLLER; Bind VI., *Det Danske Folk under Enevælden*, af AXEL LINVALD, TH. A. MÜLLER, HANS JENSEN, og VILH. ANDERSEN; Bind VIII., *Det Danske Folk under den Fri-Forfatning*, af POVL ENGELSTOFT, P. MUNCH, H. P. HANSEN, HANS JENSEN, og VILH. ANDERSEN. (Copenhagen: Chr. Erichsen. 1928-1929. Pp. 382, 407, 580, 620.)

THIS fresh and scholarly survey of Denmark's history from the disappearance of the ice-cap to the reunion of Schleswig is now complete. Written by specialists in the various periods, and equipped as it is with useful bibliographies at the end of each division, the work is nevertheless intended for the general reader—the "broad public" is the literal Danish phrase—and it must be said at the outset that it should find favor with the student as well as with the average intelligent citizen. As a "history of the Danish people", it meets the present day desire to know how those of high and low estate adjusted themselves to their environment and helped to shape it, to what extent certain modes of thought and life have been indigenous and to what extent the result of outside forces. The still most valuable *Danmarks Riges Historie* (1897-1907) was in the main a political narrative. It came to a close, characteristically enough, with the loss of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864. The present work devotes most of the seventh and all of the eighth volume to the period since that time. Moreover, the authors have managed with considerable success to present convincing pictures of local regions and classes of people, on the basis of a vast accumulation of materials, much of it recent, of a topographical-historical nature. The results of biographical research, to which a host of professional and amateur scholars have devoted their efforts, also appear here.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to give more than a hint of the value of a few of the contributions. Povl Engelstoft's exposition of the period of Christian IV. brings into clear relief the conditions that prevented Denmark-Norway from seriously attempting to gain hegemony of the Baltic, and permitted the more imperially minded Swedish nobility to support a military genius like Gustavus Adolphus in such a project. The opportunity that Denmark lost in the sixteenth century, when the Teutonic Order of Livonian Knights was dissolved, Sweden seized and held in the seventeenth. The circumstances that, so to speak, drove Denmark back on herself, at once made her nobility more distinctly national, her middle class relatively more powerful, and helped to make possible that later democratic development characteristic of the country. Fabricius's excellent account of the absolute monarchy in its

early stages shows clearly how conditions led thoughtful people to become convinced that only a strong king could save the crumbling state. In Axel Linvald's thoughtful survey of the era of the Enlightened Despotism, we have the work of Martin Hübner (VI., 98), which foreshadowed and helped to shape the policies of the Armed Neutrality, the careers of Struensee, Guldberg, and A. P. Bernstorff, and the program of humanitarian and 'liberal' measures of their time, presented in their appropriate European setting. The eighth and concluding volume (1864-1926) concentrates on political and constitutional developments since 1864 and on the ever present question of Schleswig. P. Munch treats of Denmark's difficult situation during the World War; H. P. Hanssen, veteran of the "South Jutland" cause, discusses recent aspects of a question in which he has himself been a leading figure; while Hans Jensen presents the problems of post-war Denmark. The distinguished professor of literature at Copenhagen University, Vilhelm Andersen, concludes the work with a well balanced and informing account of recent and contemporary intellectual and artistic achievements.

Taken as a whole, *Det Danske Folks Historie* is a sincere and in large measure a successful attempt to present a fabric of general national history wherein may be found the designs and patterns of social and economic classes, of labor, industry, agriculture, intellectual and spiritual life, as well as the record of the rise and fall of dynasties and the ebb and flow of political life. The skillful interweaving of these elements into a rich and well proportioned narrative is the special merit of this latest general history of Denmark.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

The University of California at Los Angeles.

The Cambridge Medieval History. Planned by the late J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Modern History; edited by J. R. TANNER, Litt.D., C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, Litt.D., F.B.A., Z. N. BROOKE, M.A. Volume VI., *Victory of the Papacy.* (New York: Macmillan Company; Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. xli, 1047. \$14.00.)

THIS volume deals mainly with the thirteenth century. "As a whole", as Dr. Jacob writes in his introduction, "the century was not an age of dissolution of an old order, but of the old order's full perfection"; but there is another side as Dr. Jacob recognizes when he writes,

The interest in the personalities and daily habits of men which meets us in Gerald of Wales, in Matthew Paris, and in Fra Salimbene, the personal vagaries of thought of so many half-heretical clerks, and the taste for an almost scientific observation of nature which appears in scattered scholars and finds a temporary apogee in Frederick II. and Roger Bacon, all portend, though from afar, a new age; and before that murky, long-delaying dawn the gorgeous starlit sky of the Middle Ages was to lose its lustre.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXVI.—8

To many this is the more interesting side of the thirteenth century and the one which, while not neglected, is less emphasized in this volume. The title, *Victory of the Papacy*, was chosen in consonance with the idea expressed in the first quotation, but, as Dr. Jacob recognizes, the title is not wholly appropriate, for the papacy had succumbed to the influences so inveighed against by Bernard of Clairvaux and other reformers of the twelfth century, and as Dr. Jacob says, "The Papacy is left deeply infected, deeply distrusted, and enslaved to its own political schemes and alliances". This volume contains many passages which bring out this degradation of the papacy.

In spite of the question aroused by the choice of the title a study of the volume shows that it is better than any of the preceding. A little over half of the book deals with what may be inadequately described as political history. The opening chapter by Dr. Jacob is a masterly sketch of Innocent III., especially as a legalist and political opportunist, but a glance at the index where the entries on Innocent cover more than a column shows how many of his activities are necessarily relegated to other chapters. Then follow three valuable chapters by Austin Lane Poole on the history of Germany from the death of Henry VI. through the Interregnum. The chapter on Italy and Sicily under Frederick II. is contributed by Dr. Schipa. Although he speaks of Frederick's many-sided nature, he does not have much to say about his scientific and literary activities. This may explain the omission of articles by Professor Haskins in the bibliography. Dr. Previt -Orton had a difficult task in summarizing conditions in Italy, 1250-1290, and while the chapter is adequate it is rather difficult to follow. The two chapters on England, covering the reigns of Richard, John, and Henry III., are excellent; the first is written by Powicke, the second, by Dr. Jacob. Powicke also has an illuminating chapter on the reign of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. In discussing the new generation "which came to manhood after the great rebellion of 1173", the real meaning of the Magna Carta, and the manner in which the evolution under Philip Augustus prepared for the activities of Louis IX. and Philip the Fair he is especially satisfactory. Petit-Dutaillis was a fortunate selection for the chapter on Saint Louis, which is excellent. Dr. Koht has given us the first adequate treatment in English of the Scandinavian kingdoms until the end of the thirteenth century and Dr. Altamira has a skillful summary of the conditions in Spain, 1034-1248. In chapter XIII. Professor Krofta describes the remarkable development which enabled Bohemia "to play the leading r le among the states of Central Europe"; Professor Bruce-Boswell describes the conditions in Poland, 1050-1303, which made for disunion; Leger in a brief section, only nine pages, treats of Hungary from 1000 to 1301.

The last half of the volume contains twelve chapters which illustrate some of the many-sided interests of the Middle Ages and especially of the thirteenth century. Professor Clapham in his chapter on commerce

and industry discusses capitalism in the Middle Ages and shows how mistaken was the old view of the self-sufficiency of the individual holdings; he rightly stresses the mobility of the population. He has interwoven in his account many facts which reinforce his generalizations. Professor Pirenne, than whom no one is a more competent authority, has a noteworthy discussion of the northern towns and their commerce. There are no footnotes but the treatment is based upon his own well-known works. Professor Watson has packed a large amount of information into his chapter on the development of ecclesiastical organization and its financial basis. The chapter on the medieval universities was written by Rashdall and revised after his death by G. R. Potter. Until the publication of the new edition of Rashdall's *Universities* this will serve as the best summary of our present knowledge. W. H. V. Reade limited his treatment of political theory mainly to the relation between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, discussing Dante's theory of monarchy but excluding contemporary writers like Pierre Dubois and Marsilio of Padua, in whose works more modern lines of thought began to find expression. By this course he has made plain the logical basis of the pope's position in the thirteenth century. Especially worthy of note is his luminous analysis of St. Augustine's line of thought in the *De Civitate Dei*. Professor Turberville has an excellent and fair chapter on heresies and the inquisition. (Is his definition of *endura*, page 706, satisfactory?) A. G. Little was the inevitable choice for the chapter on the mendicant orders. Hamilton Thompson shows his versatility and wide range of interest, already manifest by his publications, in writing the chapter on medieval doctrine, the section on military architecture, and the chapter on the art of war. Dr. Cranage has a too brief section, only ten pages, on ecclesiastical architecture, a continuation of chapter XXI. in volume III. His dictum that "Gothic architecture can not be revived" might awaken dissent and controversy in some American universities. In the last two chapters Miss Abram writes sensibly about chivalry and Miss Weston delightfully about the legendary cycles of the Middle Ages. It has seemed worth while to outline the contributions and, especially so, as every chapter is well done; unfortunately this can not be said of all the volumes previously published.

The editorial work is well done. Notes refer, when necessary, to discussions in previous volumes. In this volume the editors have avoided the duplication of events and statements so noticeable in the last volume, where alternate chapters on Germany and Italy covering the same period were entrusted to different hands. There are almost no discrepant statements of fact; there is one exception which required a word of explanation: "The first body of university Statutes in which subjects of study are mentioned . . . forbade the reading of the 'physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle', and the prohibition was renewed in 1231 and in 1263" (page 571); "Gregory IX., accordingly, ordered the examination and expurgation of the peripatetic philosophy, and in 1255 the two pro-

hibited books, the Physics and the Metaphysics, were definitely prescribed for the Arts course of the University of Paris" (page 713). The sources bear out both statements and hence the need of a word of explanation. Errors in proof reading are few and of too slight importance to deserve mention. As usual there is no uniformity in the matter of footnotes. Jacob, Poole, Powicke, Petit-Dutaillis, Rashdall or Potter, Reade, and Weston, who contributed eleven chapters, have highly useful notes. Two other chapters have about a dozen notes each and the rest have scarcely any or none. If all of the chapters had been annotated as well as those by Poole and Jacob the result would be a boon to scholars. As already indicated, this volume has more foreign contributors than the preceding—seven in all, out of twenty-two—and Oxford men have been especially drawn into service. Three of the authors died before the publication of the volume—Leger, Rashdall, and Miss Weston. The bibliography for Miss Weston's chapter is unusually serviceable; the other bibliographies vary as in the preceding volumes but on the whole they are distinctly better. Vossler's work seems to have been neglected; only one of Byrne's studies is mentioned; Thompson's writings do not seem to have been known. Of the ten maps the most interesting and novel is that of the medieval universities.

Nineteen years have elapsed since the publication of the first volume. Professor Bury, who planned the series, has died; the editors of the earlier volumes have either died or resigned. The war interfered seriously with the work but the present editors have been, since the third volume, carrying on with increasing efficiency. If the volumes yet to be published are as satisfactory as this one the work as a whole will come measurably near satisfying the expectations aroused by the announcement of Professor Bury's plan and will be one more monument to his erudition.

Princeton University.

DANA C. MUNRO.

The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: an Introduction and Guide. Volume I., *Ecclesiastical*. By JAMES F. KENNEY, PH.D., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xvi, 807. \$12.50.)

It would be difficult to over-praise this book. The author states that he devoted portions of his time for nearly twenty years to its preparation. Had he told us that he had worked at it exclusively for a period twice as long, our wonder at the extent and thoroughness of his researches would be merely diminished, not removed.

Materials for early Irish history are troublesome to collect. In Ireland, itself, almost continual wars and disturbances, the barbarous activities of those who at the Reformation period devastated the monasteries, and not least the trend of Irish so-called "National" education in modern times, tending as it did to induce the people to despise the records of their country's past, have all been factors in a destruction of valuable

manuscripts most lamentably extensive, and which culminated in the burning of the Dublin Record Office a few years ago. Moreover, the absence of government aid, the anglicization of Irish secondary schools and universities have militated against the creation of any considerable group of Irish scholars interested in the study of even the manuscripts which have survived.

It was therefore on foreign sources that the author of this book was obliged chiefly to rely. These are fortunately abundant, for the Irish missionaries and scholars wandered far, and left traces of their activities in manuscripts bequeathed to monasteries and churches throughout most countries of Western Europe. These manuscripts have been extensively studied by Continental scholars and their contents made available to the public by printed editions and commentaries.

The extent of the influence of Irish culture and the works of Irish scholars on the intellectual and religious life of the European Continent during the Middle Ages has, up to the present, been little appreciated. Indeed, not a few even of those who pride themselves on the extent of their learning in regard to such matters are inclined to regard the assertions of such influence as a mere fairy-tale, originating in silly national vanity. A perusal of Dr. Kenney's book should alter their views. He tells his readers (page 517) that "the great religious movement of the seventh century was Irish". He makes them acquainted with great Irish saints and scholars, such as Columbanus, Johannes Scottus Eriugena, Dicuil the geographer, whose reputations may be said to have been world-wide, and with legendary Irish tales, such as the *Navigatio Brendani* and the *Visio Tundali*, which were known, through translations, to most nations of civilized medieval Europe.

The work is divided into chapters which deal with Ireland in the Ancient World, the Irish Church in the Celtic Period, the Monastic Churches, the Expansion of Irish Christianity, Religious Literature and Ecclesiastical Culture, and the Reform Movement of the Twelfth Century.

It may be said that all the very numerous Irish saints, and not a few whose Irish origin is doubtful, have places assigned them in this book. After each saint's name is given an account of what is known, or conjectured, regarding him, followed by a very full bibliography, setting forth what has been written by him or regarding him. Since so amazingly much information has been given, we may be charged with ungraciousness in noting that neither Dr. Sigerson's translation of the Easter Song of Sedulius (1922), nor Miss Joynt's life of Saint Gall (1927) are mentioned.

With one remark made by Dr. Kenney we venture to disagree. It is as follows (page 303): "Saintship itself was, to the popular mind, a concept of the magical order. Its essential characteristic was not moral goodness but the possession of the mysterious power which works miracles. The 'sanctifying grace' of the legendary saint neither arose from habitual virtue nor resulted primarily in holiness; it was the

Christianized counterpart of the magic potency of the druid." We admit that several Irish saints (according to their largely legendary "Lives") *did* fail in the Christian virtue of forgiveness of injuries and that certain of their recorded miracles appear to have been rather fantastical than edifying. But still, of most of them, and of all the most eminent, so many works of mercy, such as the healing of the sick, the relief of the poor, the reclamation of sinners and so forth, so many traits of personal holiness are noted that to compare them to druids appears to us unjust.

We look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the promised second volume of Dr. Kenney's work. It will deal with Irish secular sources.

M. T. H.

La España del Cid. Por RAMON MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Dibujos de Pedro Muguruza. Two volumes, with maps and genealogical charts. (Madrid: Editorial Plutarco (S.A.). 1929. Pp. iv, 1006.)

As the title indicates the object of this book is to give the life of the Cid against the background of his time. It thus contains a general picture of Spain in the eleventh century, a century of development from the Latin-Arab period toward the later conditions which make modern Spain; the old empire of the Visigoths, with its succession-states, has vanished and the Spain of Leon and Castile has come. What part did the Cid play in this transformation? Toward answering this question Sr. Ramon Menéndez Pidal has certain excellent qualities and one defect, which is not as great as it may seem. He is already well known as a student of the chronicles and especially for his admirable edition of the *Primera Crónica General*, composed as to the first part at the command of Alfonso the Wise and continued under Sancho IV. in 1289. This appeared, 1906, in the Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. But he is much more than a prosaic editor of chronicles; he knows and has studied at first hand the development of Spanish legend. Thus, in 1925, in the *Clásicos Castellanos* he began a *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas* with an elaborate study of the legend of Roderic, the Last of the Goths, giving all the medieval evidence bearing on that extraordinary tale. But, further, he is an authority on the *Romancero*, and, like Scott in his raids for ballads in his border country, he has explored Morocco, in the memories of its Jews, and South America for supplements to Duran and Menéndez Pelayo. These investigations have appeared in the Biblioteca de Ensayos under the title *El Romancero: Teorías e Investigaciones*, headed by his lecture delivered at All Souls College, Oxford, in 1922, at the instance of the late Professor W. P. Ker. All this is necessary to explain the mingled spirit of enthusiasm and exact historical research which is here applied to the legend, or history, as we please, of the Cid. The one defect is that the author is not an Arabist. But to his

mind the Arabists, headed by Dozy, have had their full day in court and have done their worst on the Cid. It is now the time for one who knows thoroughly the Spanish side of the evidence—and there can be no question that Sr. R. Menéndez Pidal does—to take up the cause of this Spanish national hero and do him right in the eyes of the historians of the world. Dozy was swept off his feet by the quite natural animus of the Muslim authorities against this Castilian knight; he did not really know and fully understand the Spanish sources; much, in the way of original documents—chronicles, French, Spanish, Latin, and Hebrew, charters, deeds—has come to light since his day; above all he was under the influence of a wave of what we call now “debunking” and under it the Cid had to be shown as an unscrupulous, perjured, and bloody mercenary. But, now, as a result of closer investigation even the *Poema de Mio Cid* has come back as an historical source and the later poetical interpretation of the figure of the Cid is vindicated. Further, in dealing with the Arabic sources, which are fuller than Dozy knew, the author has enjoyed the complete support and help of such Arabists as Ribera and Asín. All this revulsion against hyper-skepticism can not but remind us of the way in which the personality of Homer has come back, and of the renewed credibility as a first-class historical source of the Old Testament, as *e.g.*, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

But Sr. Menéndez Pidal has realized that in thus vindicating his national hero he may be accused of uncritical enthusiasm, and he knows very well that he is enthusiastic on his subject. So he has equipped his labor with a very elaborate set of references and commentaries and has followed it up with nearly 270 pages of documental appendixes. With these any critic of his position will have to reckon. He has divided his book into twenty chapters in eight parts. The first part is preliminary, previous biographies of the Cid and Spain from the Conquest to the time of the Cid; the second part gives the Cid as a Castilian leader and representative of the hegemony of Castile; the third part, the still uncertainly explained disgrace and exile of the Cid; the fourth part describes the Almoravide invasion and the restoration of Islam; the Cid is reconciled to Alfonso and leads the defense against the Almoravides; in the fifth part the Cid is facing the Almoravides, captures and holds Valencia; the sixth part describes the court of the Cid in Valencia, his death, his family and reputation; the seventh part sketches, sociologically and broadly, Spain from the time of the Cid to the modern world.

The eighth part, as has been said above, gives the basis for the whole book. No attempt can be made here to estimate that basis in detail or to judge the completeness of the author's success in his vindication of the Cid. But there can be no question that the presentation of the material is here fuller and the editing of the documents here given at length is more accurate and critical than ever before; also that the minimizing by Dozy of the Cid and the presenting of him as a common mercenary, fighting for plunder and his own hand, is here definitely overthrown. The details, further than that, it will take long controversy to work out.

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D. B. MACDONALD.

Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los Siglos XII. y XIII. Por ANGEL GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA. Four volumes. (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan. 1926, 1928, 1930. Pp. viii, 324; vi, 342; iv, 598; xvi, 462.)

THIS monumental work shows that Spain is at last taking seriously its Muslim past and that the long labors of Ribera, Codera, and Asín are bearing fruit. The little histories of Muslim Spain and of the Arabic-Spanish literature by the present editor, Professor González Palencia, in the Colección Labor have already been noticed. This work is at the opposite extreme from such popularizations; it consists of the verbatim reproduction of documents of all kinds which show the sociological situation in Toledo and its environs during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These, drawn from the archives of the Primate Cathedral of Toledo, are given in their original Arabic and in Spanish translation, with all necessary introduction and annotation; the fourth volume is devoted to an elaborate sociological study. It is good news to learn (IV. 362) that the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan is about to publish similarly the Latin and Romance documents from the same archives and for the same period, bearing on the history of Toledo. Then, and only then, the history of Toledo from the reconquest on, of such primary importance for the history of all Spain, will really come to light.

It may well, however, be asked how it happened that for two centuries after the reconquest, in this stronghold of Christendom, Arabic was used as an ordinary language of business, and, as a second question, who exactly were those Mozárabes who used it. The Mozárabes, from Arabic *mustarib*, "one who makes himself into an Arab", were the element in the population of Spain who assimilated themselves in language and in everything but religion to the invading and conquering Muslims; they learned to speak Arabic, became bilingual, but remained Christians. There have been, and are still, two historical positions as to their status under Muslim domination. The older one, derived from all the bitter memories of the reconquest, was that the Christians who remained in Muslim territory and did not withdraw to the unconquered parts of Spain were an oppressed and downtrodden class of helots, martyrs to their faith. This was expressed as recently as the early part of this century in the book of Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1897-1903). It viewed the Muslims as overwhelmingly "Arab" in race, and the Christians as Spanish, and both as holding apart in constant hostility. The other view, largely due to the labors of Ribera, Codera, and their school of Spanish Arabists, recognized that the racial Arabs were comparatively few in numbers; that the population of Spain, Muslim and Christian, was largely homogeneous; that it was generally bilingual, Arabic and Romance; and that the element which remained Christian was on fairly good terms with the element which had become Muslim. So the Christians adopted Arabic and its literature and liked to use Arabic both in daily intercourse and as a literary vehicle. Already in 1864

Paul de Lagarde had pointed this out, from Spanish chronicles, in the preface to his *Vier Evangelien Arabisch*. There appeared also, on both sides, the most singular amalgams between the poetical forms of Arabic and those of Romance, and to these many of the unexplained developments of poetry and song in southern Europe have been traced. All this, of course, was in the teeth of the canon law of both peoples; but law has always yielded to the facts of life. And it is also true that in Muslim Spain the status of the Christian—as in all Muslim countries—was only one of toleration, if of protection; he could not be a full citizen with all civic rights. But with practical community of race and the necessity of living together, it was only in cases of actual warfare that the Muslim canon law of Holy War asserted itself.

When, then, Alfonso VI. finally captured Toledo in 1085 he found in it a very curious linguistic and racial combination—Mozárabes, Jews, and Muslims. Franks, he brought with him in his conquering army. These were settled in the central ward of Toledo and their descendants appear in the documents of the later time. The respective status of all these was fixed and guaranteed in later charters granted by Alfonso. The Mozárabes, then, were the Christian population of Toledo under Muslim rule who had become bilingual but who used Arabic as their written language of law and business; so in these documents the formulas are by origin Muslim but the laws applied are Christian (IV. 360). All that was taken over and continued under the new Christian government, and for two centuries their language of business and law was Arabic. Apparently the archbishopric had been the center of Christian life under Muslim rule; there is evidence that the Muslims countenanced and upheld the archbishop as head of the Christian community; that was the Muslim method of dealing with such non-Muslim communities elsewhere.

In his fourth volume Professor González Palencia gives an elaborate and most illuminating study of Toledo and its life as revealed in these documents. First on the topography of Toledo, its city wards, suburbs, and environs. In this, so fixed in this ancient city are its street lines and the sites of its churches, it has been found possible to superimpose, in a general fashion, on a modern plan the data furnished by the documents. Another map gives the province of Toledo with the places which occur most frequently. Then come the races of Toledo with most detail on the Mozárabes and the Jews. The second appendix of documents (III. 561-595, documents 1132-1151) consists of those in the Arabic language, but written in Hebrew characters, proceeding from Toledan Jews and belonging to the cathedral archives. They are preserved now in the National Historical Archives of Madrid and have been transcribed and translated by Professor José M. Millas Vallicrosa of the University of Madrid with the assistance of Dr. Fritz Baer of Berlin. As to the Arabic of the Mozárabes, this is hardly the place to enter on the philological side of Professor González Palencia's labors; he gives full lists of exceptional words and usages. On the sociological side he treats of

the institutions of Toledo, the cathedral and its chapter, churches and convents, fraternities, anniversaries, pious foundations, public offices from the king down, social ranks and classes from nobles to slaves and captives in Muslim countries. The last retain their social rights and have to be redeemed. Then comes a long, legal discussion on the acquisition of property and the rights of property. Last, after appendix III., come very full indexes. All this, of course, is the merest outline and suggestion, but it will show at least what rich materials these four great volumes contain for the whole life of Toledo in these two centuries. Professor González Palencia has done his part in the most satisfactory and careful fashion toward the history of the Mother Church of Spain, and all students of medieval Europe must hope that the parallel Latin and Romance texts of those archives will soon follow. This, it may be well to emphasize, is no calendar of papers but the papers themselves.

Hartford Theological Seminary.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Sainte Catherine de Sienne: Essai de Critique des Sources. Par ROBERT FAWTIER, ancien Membre de l'École Française de Rome. Tome II., *Les Œuvres de Sainte Catherine de Sienne.* [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule 135.] (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1930. Pp. viii, 375.)

AFTER having in a volume published eight years ago critically examined the hagiographical sources bearing on the life of Catherine of Siena, M. Fawtier undertakes in the present volume to subject to a similar close scrutiny the texts in which her literary works have come down to us. These consist of her letters, the mystic treatise known under the name of *Il Dialogo della Divina Provvidentia*, and a group of twenty-six prayers. It should be understood that the author is not concerned with the worth of the above works considered as literature. His task lies exclusively in the field of text criticism and he weighs the diverse versions which have reached us in order by correcting the errors of careless copyists and by eliminating the additions of over-zealous followers to restore, as far as possible, the *ipsissima verba* alone capable of giving the true historical portrait of the Sienese saint. As her correspondence is altogether the most important element of her personal record, the critic devotes himself almost exclusively to its consideration. We receive some idea of the character and scope of the author's labors, if it is stated that a total of three hundred and eighty-one letters constitutes Catherine's *epistolario* and that they are contained in forty-five separate manuscripts belonging to the period between her death in 1380 and the advent of printing. The first printed edition was issued at Bologna in 1492, but does not count greatly because it contented itself with a small selection from the letters. It was followed in 1500 by a much fuller Venetian edition undertaken by the celebrated Aldus. Since no demand for

another edition made itself felt for two hundred years, it was not till 1713 that a very complete publication appeared at Siena under the supervision of Girolamo Gigli. According to M. Fawtier, Gigli's text remains the most satisfactory down to our own day, meriting precedence over the edition published in 1860 under the direction of Niccolo Tommaseo. The author has conducted a close examination of the four editions as well as of the forty-five manuscripts scattered though they are through the archives and libraries of Italy and Europe to the end of determining their inner relationship and of disentangling as far as may be the original collections made by various immediate disciples of the saint. After reducing his findings to convenient tables the author attacks the much mooted issue of the chronology of the letters. His scholarly reserve is revealed by his avowal that one hundred and thirty letters can not be dated, while for the remaining two hundred and fifty-one he is often obliged to be content with a hypothetical month and year. However, when he is through with his labors, on which he brings to bear a keen intelligence and a severe scientific method, the path has been cleared for a new and a final edition of the saint's works. It is a particularly happy conclusion to be drawn from this inquiry that the falsifications smuggled into the correspondence are not numerous and that the authenticity of the bulk of the work traditionally ascribed to Catherine is beyond question.

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FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Luther and the Reformation. By JAMES MACKINNON, PH.D., D.D.,
Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh. Volume IV., *Vindication of the Movement, 1530-1546*.
(New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. xviii,
372. \$6.40.)

In the anniversary year of the Augsburg Confession, Professor Mackinnon has brought to completion his substantial study of Luther and the Reformation. The earlier volumes envisaged the history of the man and the movement as a great drama of emancipation from inherited and enforced traditions, beliefs, and institutions; the culmination, "the third act of the Reformation drama", is reached in the years 1530-1546, years which hold, in the author's phrase, the "Vindication of the Movement". The web of political history in this period is but vaguely outlined or suggested; attention, perforce, is paid to Charles V. and the Schmalkaldic League, but virility is lacking to the narrative; the figures and diplomacy of Francis I., Clement VII., Paul III., and Solyman are shadowy and vague. The predilection is for the religious leader and religious history.

Crowded to the full were the reformer's last years; and here are well displayed the happier activities—of the preacher, the educator, the writer of hymns, of the enthusiast sweating to render in their tongue for his beloved Germans the whole Word of God, and of the hearty man whose

boundless discourse at table overflowed to friends and the notebooks of satellites. Would there were not so much else to tell!

For these years are weighted with great tragedy, and their burden is greater than a burden of sorrow. Misery enough, it might seem, that the woes of intestine war seared Germany. More tragic is the corruption and decline of Martin Luther. His dogmatic utterance and his spirit grew ever more violent and uncompromising; hotter his hatred and vituperation of an ever-growing horde of enemies—Romanists, Zwinglians, Jews, Antinomians, Anabaptists, individualists. In short, there is evidence on every hand of the disintegration of a voice once raised in behalf of the *emancipation and progress of the human spirit*.

Let the relationship of Luther to Anabaptists suffice here to suggest the general catastrophe. Professor Mackinnon has told from the sources and with general fairness how Luther came to approve the death penalty for Anabaptist error. Though fair, the account is yet blurred. By the words of 1530 which he has chosen to quote (p. 64), Luther justified the invocation of the sword against Anabaptists on grounds of their blasphemy and sedition. But when had these crimes been otherwise punished? What needs to be made plain for Luther's intellectual history is that he gave in his exposition of the eighty-second Psalm a definition of blasphemy as teaching contrary to an article of faith clearly grounded in Scripture and universally accepted, like the Apostles' Creed. Ultimately, then, for Luther there was no more than a dialectical distinction between heresy and blasphemy. So, in the withering fire of intolerance, were not the first fruits of the emancipation movement burned to a crisp? Are not the last years a tragic betrayal of the first?

Not so harsh is the verdict of Professor Mackinnon. From the circumference of the Reformation, from the more extended periphery of modern history, the experienced historian turns critical eyes toward the genius at the center of sixteenth century history; and when the strands of relationship are distinguished and measured the equation is formed which expresses a judgment of his potency and worth. Luther had done a mighty work for the emancipation and progress of the human spirit; he became too small for the large movement which he initiated; of that movement "what was great and good and fruitful . . . has survived", even those things which Luther refused "in dereliction from his own fundamental principle of freedom". Protestantism was a bigger thing than its great sixteenth century creator could grasp; "the truth that genius discovers is ever greater than the genius of the discoverer". Is this not a confession of faith to the Hegelian view of history?

Duke University.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG FREIHERRN VON PASTOR. Band XIV., Abteilungen 1, 2, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des Fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Innozenz' X. bis zum Tode Innozenz' XII., 1644-1700.* (Freiburg i. B., and St. Louis: B. Herder and Company. 1929, 1930. Pp. xvii, xxxvi, 1225. \$6.25, \$5.75.)

THIS new volume seems to bear out the publishers' assurance that Pastor left his work substantially complete. Only the introduction and a few scattered passages, we are told, remained to be filled in; and toward these the author had left helpful notes. His property rights in the work pass to his widow; but for its editorial direction he himself on his deathbed is said to have named the Jesuit Kneller. Such a choice ensures, at least, fierce critics. Already, since the volume on Sixtus V. one Jesuit-hating Catholic scholar, the redoubtable P. M. Baumgarten, has been assailing with vigor and at much length in the pages of the non-Catholic *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* what he has thought the growing Jesuit partisanship of the work; and from his "critical comments" the final volumes are still less likely to escape. That the strictures of Herr Baumgarten must, despite his learning in this field, be taken with caution needs no saying to those who know his hasty and often absurd little book on the writings of Henry C. Lea. Much for which he censures Pastor is similarly trivial or misunderstood; but learned he can be and his comments must be weighed. In the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* he has been accused of being moreover one of the authors (with the Frenchman Boulin and the Italian Benigni-Mataloni) of the anti-Jesuit historical studies published in Paris under the pseudonym of "J. de Récalde". This he denies; but these studies, too, whoever their author, are pertinent to Pastor's topic and illustrate what under Jesuit guidance his volumes must face.

From the Peace of Westphalia it is to the internal history of the Church that he gives the foreground. Of her eclipse as a world-power this volume speaks frankly. "The mighty upswing of the Catholic Church in the Catholic reformation and restoration", says the introduction, "comes to a standstill with the second half of the 17th century, and there follows a period of decline." "Rome ceased to be the centre of European politics: in the great crises of modern history she plays no part, or but a very limited one." "Though under Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. and for a time thereafter Rome, while constantly sinking in political importance, still remained from the viewpoint of culture, especially through the great creations in the field of art, the real head of the cultivated world, the Apostolic See from now till the French Revolution had still good priests, indeed, but no great men." Even the arts flagged. The Chiigi were the last of the great papal families to leave their mark on the Roman city. Rome, too, was impoverished and weary. With the death, in 1667, of Alexander VII., who as nuncio had voiced at Münster the protest of Rome and who as pope maintained to the end her passive

resistance, her spirit seemed broken. The five popes who filled out the century were nearly all short-lived or old and feeble. The longest to reign, Innocent XI. (1676-1689), was an ascetic on the papal throne.

True, the great European courts were Catholic still; but Austria and Spain were only crippled survivals, and France, their victor, was in virtual schism. To the story of that schism goes much of this volume, and Pastor can record for Rome some "moral victories". But moral victories any church might win. Rome's greatest was won over herself: adversity brought an end to papal nepotism. In 1692 a bull of Innocent XII. so scotched it that, as Pastor says, "it has since lived only in history". No passage in these pages seems written with such gusto, unless it be the chapter on the royal convert, Queen Christina of Sweden, and her long career at Rome. That too was a triumph for the Church, and Pastor's well studied narrative clears Christina of many charges.

Cornell University.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Histoire du Monde. Publiée sous la direction de E. CAVAGNAC.

Tome XIII., *La Civilisation Européenne Moderne*, partie 3, *Les Sciences Exactes*, par J. PÉRÈS, Professeur à l'Université d' Aix-Marseille; partie 4, *La Chimie*, par H. METZGER, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, Membre du Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences; partie 5, *La Biologie*, par L. AMBARD, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1930. Pp. 196, 169, 113. 25, 20, 25 frs.)

As it is now commonly recognized that intellectual history is an important and integral part of the general story of the race, the methodical problem of its presentation has become acute. Shall the chronological or the topical division of the material prevail? Shall the author, or editor, treat the political, economic, and intellectual in synchronous co-ordination, or shall he separate the various ingredients and assign each to a particular compartment of his work? Are the best results secured by leaving the different branches to specialists, or by allowing one mind to correlate the whole? It requires no long consideration to conclude that each of the above alternatives has inherent difficulties which, in extreme cases, may become intolerable, but that each has advantages inevitably lacking to its reciprocal. By dividing history into compartments, and by assigning each to a specialist, a high degree of competence within a narrow field is secured at the cost of sacrificing the clarity of the whole picture; by allowing a single mind to weave the variegated threads into a single pattern, the interrelations of the various elements are thrown into their proper relief at the expense of some inaccuracy in details. The final conclusion of the philosophic historian is likely to be that both methods are not only legitimate, but that each is indispensable for the formation of a just view of subject matter of his science. If there is such a thing as a history of chemistry or of music, it must be

presented by experts in the special field; if there is such a thing as the history of thought, culture, or civilization, as distinct from the histories of its various branches, that, too, can and must be studied and expounded by one who has mastered its essentials. Analysis and synthesis are the two mutually indispensable processes of all scientific or philosophic thought.

Two great histories of the world, now in course of publication in France, by choosing the two different methods of presentation, illustrate the advantages and difficulties of each. The series *Peuples et Civilisations*, edited by Halphen and Sagnac (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV., 328), divides history into periods, assigning each epoch to a master, but allowing him within his period to draw together all the various strands of political, social, economic, and intellectual history. The alternative mode has been preferred by M. E. Cavaignac, the editor of the *Histoire du Monde*, of which a small portion is now under review. The first of his thirteen volumes is devoted to Prolegomena, six other volumes to the history of the dark races, five to the political history of the white race, and one to the history of white civilization. This last volume, in turn, is divided into seven parts, of which one is dedicated to music, one to the plastic arts, four to the several sciences, each treated separately, and one to the state. It is the "chest-of-drawers method", which Voltaire was accused of inventing, carried to an extreme never imagined by him.

To the reviewer it seems that the unity of history has been lost in the process of division. The coördination and harmony one expects to find in a single work is completely lacking. The three volumes here reviewed have no more relation to each other or to any other part of the greater work in which they are nominally united, than if each were published independently. The most startling differences of viewpoint, of treatment, of chronological limits, emerge. They are alike in nothing except in ignoring everything outside their own particular fields of reference. They must, in fact, be treated not as parts of a whole, but as popular histories of three separate branches of science.

As such they exhibit various degrees of merit. M. Pérès, under the title of the exact sciences, surveys the story of mathematics, astronomy, and some parts of physics, from antiquity to the present, with a final prophetic glance at the future. About a third of his work treats the period before Copernicus, a third the epoch from the middle of the sixteenth century to 1780; the final third the last century and a half. The proportion is excellent, the skill with which highly technical matters are explained to the lay reader, admirable. The treatment of the earlier ages is the more explicit; that of the later centuries more animated. There is nothing on the connection of science with technology, with religion, with philosophy, with popular thought, or with civilization in general. A considerable number of errors reveal the author as less competent in the history than he is in the technique of his sciences. Not only are foreign names frequently given incorrectly, but misstatements of

facts can occasionally be detected. Osiander's preface is here attributed to Copernicus; the names of Napier's two works on logarithms are conflated; various legends about Galileo, recently shown to be at least doubtful, are repeated with unwarranted precision. As a whole, M. Pérès's book may best be compared, for its scope, to Cajori's history of mathematics, though it is inferior to Cajori in accuracy and learning.

The best of the three works is undoubtedly Mlle. Metzger's. Having already distinguished herself for her mastery both of the technical and the historical sides of her subject, she has written an excellent, and even charming, narrative covering the era from about 1530 to about 1880. Very instructive is her description of the laboratory of the seventeenth century, and very informing are her running comments on the ideas and achievements of each successive generation. More interested in the flow of ideas than in the details of biography, she has compressed most of the chronological matter into a brief table at the end. As there is no work exactly like hers in English, her book may be commended to the British and American reader. He must not, however, expect more than she has set out to give him, either in the way of unknown facts or of novel interpretation.

M. Ambard's brochure is not a history of biology, but a discussion of various aspects of that science, with a very few scant notices of a historical nature thrown in from time to time. Four pages on antiquity and the Middle Ages, and one page on Harvey, take the science down to Lavoisier, who is wrongly credited with the discovery of the function of respiration. After that the author wanders into a desultory disquisition on miscellaneous topics, such as vitalism, anæsthesia, anaphylaxis, and various diseases. Considered as a history of biology, the book is distinguished not only by enormous omissions, but by startling positive errors, of which the worst is perhaps the attribution of the discovery of vaccination to Pasteur!

Cornell University.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell: a List of Printed Materials relating to Oliver Cromwell, together with a List of Portraits and Caricatures. By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, Professor of History in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxviii, 540. \$12.50.)

WHEN the reviewer first heard of the project of this bibliography he was inclined to fear that the task was one greater than could be justified by the results. A somewhat prolonged study of the finished work has convinced him that he was wrong, and that the book is going to be useful to many scholars. Mr. Abbott has been gathering his materials during his leisure over a period of years; Cromwell has been his hobby and that hobby is now bound between covers, as such hobbies should be.

It is more than a reference book about Cromwell; it is a bibliography of England during the two most interesting decades of an interesting century. All the notices of Cromwell in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, in *Notes and Queries*, and in scores of local historical publications have been searched out and put in their proper places. An enormous amount of Continental literature about Cromwell—he has always interested the Germans—has been ransacked and catalogued. The result among other things is a lot of excellent notes. Mr. Abbott implies in his preface that there will be few notes, but is better than his promises. There is, he points out, a manuscript version of such a book in the Kensington Library with corrections by the author, there is a note on the authenticity of this memoir in the *Athenæum* for such a date, etc. The reviewer has been able to turn few pages without finding references that rouse his curiosity and add to his knowledge.

It is going to be an excellent supplement to Mr. Godfrey Davies's book. I am glad to say that it is better indexed, very fully indexed indeed. Mr. Davies had in his book much lore, mostly lore out of his own great learning; Mr. Abbott has more lore, because he has been longer gathering. Incidentally it may be remarked that Davies's book represents a lot of coöperation and Abbott's represents individual effort and, as often in scholarship, individual effort beats coöperation. Both works are, however, to be commended and are going to have their effect. It is pleasant to think how libraries grow to meet bibliographies and to watch cataloguers checking by Davies and Abbott, to observe order departments proceeding to fill gaps as they can.

That is not the only use of a bibliography such as this by Abbott. All the known facts about Cromwell and the variant opinions are now readily accessible to him who wishes to consider them. Not that a "harmony" of them is wanted, not that truth is necessarily beaten out of many divergent opinions, although sometimes it is. Such books as Abbott's prepare the ground for the amateur and the historians, however much they may insist upon their guild, can not do without the amateurs. This book may start some fresh mind thinking about Cromwell. All of Tout's fortunate explorations started with a book on seals that came to his desk. Tout was a professional, but the writer on Cromwell need be no Tout, but a man of talent and common sense. This is not an invitation to literary men looking for topics for best sellers—John Drinkwater has lately done a dull play and a commonplace biography of Cromwell—but rather to philosophers who reflect on the zigzag course of affairs, to some American Lecky, or Burke, or Morley. One might go further and suggest that there is a chance for a professional historian to write another life or interpretation of Cromwell. We need an estimate that will be arrived at by a closer study of Cromwell's mental processes. Those who work every day in sources are likely to sniff a little at psychological estimates of people who have lived in the long past; they know better than those

who plead unctuously for the "new history" how hard it is to get material upon which to base psychological study. Cromwell is, I suspect, an exception. There are three stout volumes of his *Letters and Speeches*. They reveal a man singularly incoherent, whose train of thought it is well nigh impossible to follow. Yet if we know the circumstances under which a speech was made, and the events in the weeks before, we may come to see that in that explosion of mysterious phrases there are ideas, fairly well covered, but ideas and interesting ones. Some one who will take a great deal of trouble to examine words in their settings will find out much, I believe, about Cromwell's ways of thinking and outlook, may probe close to the springs of action of that figure whom Gardiner not unadvisedly called the most characteristic of Englishmen. It was the great Gardiner who by following with utmost care the exact order of events determined for good and all, I think, our judgment of Cromwell in action. But there is still much to know about the thinking Cromwell. It is not a psychologist who is wanted, but an historian who already knows his east counties in the early seventeenth century, who has common sense rather than an ability to use the terminology of Freud or Jung, preferably an American historian who does not have to unshoulder that burden of prejudices for or against Cromwell that Englishmen are likely to carry. Would that the bibliographer would attempt this task, or if he will not, let him start some young man at it.

The following omissions may be noted: *The Correspondence of John Cosin* (Surtees Soc.); the *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*; W. Howard Flanders, *King, Parliament and Army*; the account of John Lambert in Whitaker's *History of Craven*; the recollections of Sir William Waller, printed as an appendix to the *Poetry of Anne Matilda* (1788); *Extracts from the Papers of Thomas Woodcock* (Camden Soc. Misc., XI.); G. Davies, *The Early History of the Coldstream Guards* (1924); F. H. Sunderland, *Marmaduke Lord Langdale* (1926). Mr. Abbott has not attempted to include all Thomason tracts that refer to Cromwell and no doubt there are many tracts not listed which have relevant material. Two such tracts at my hand are *Bibliotheca Parliamenti Libri Theologici Historici* (1655), and *Sir Arthur Hesilrige's Last will and Testament with a Briefe Survey of his Life and Death* (1661). One might easily criticize the inclusion of certain items apparently of the same character as others excluded, one might point out inconsistency in handling details, that last infirmity of scholarly minds, but the book is too good a one in essentials to deserve such treatment. Mistakes I can not find save of that slight degree which it would be pedantry to enumerate.

It is a strange fact that Mr. Abbott who has long been known as a collector of Cromwelliana has himself written little about Cromwell. It happens, however, that a single article, *The Fame of Cromwell* (*Yale Rev.*, republished in *Conflicts with Oblivion*) is worth many stout volumes of Cromwelliana; it is a paper the reading of which (along with Bennett and Knoblauch's play of *Milestones*) should be required of every grad-

uate student of history. Mr. Abbott traces through the generations the changes of opinion about Cromwell in such a way that the reader can not but see the relation of historical judgments to time and place. To discover that such judgments depend upon the mood and dominant party of a time is discouraging, if enlightening. Yet there is comfort, I think, in following the chronological arrangement of this book. One can turn the pages with the years and almost be persuaded that history slowly—how slowly—wins over tradition and prejudice.

Yale University.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

La Diplomatie Française au Temps de Louis XIV (1661-1715): Institutions, Moeurs et Coutumes. Par C. G. PICAVET, Professeur à l'Université de Toulouse. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. xii, 339. 50 fr.)

As the title indicates, M. Picavet presents a study of the organization and method, not the aims and success, of French diplomacy in its classic epoch. The reader is not to expect a rehearsal of the bargains, the intrigues, the *coups de théâtre* already described by Mignet, by Bourgeois, and by many other historians. M. Picavet's researches concern rather the technical production of these effects. After a summary introduction sketching the evolution of diplomatic intercourse prior to 1661, he presents his data in six brief books. These deal with the organization of French diplomacy at home and abroad; the outlook, underlying principles, and methods of French foreign policy; diplomatic forms, as declarations of war, types of treaties, etc.; the consideration given to economic questions in Louis's foreign policy; and the influence of public opinion in the formation of that policy. This last is dismissed in a few pages, the author finding it negligible.

Considered from these points of view the diplomacy *louisquatorzien* was surprisingly unpretentious and unritualistic. "En politique extérieure d'ancien régime, il y a des manières plus encore que des procédés" (p. 323). The Quai d'Orsay with its army of functionaries, its acres of desks, its overflowing archives, would be stupefied at the simplicity of equipment deemed adequate to Augustan diplomacy. To be sure, organization, differentiation, and specialization were gaining in this field as in others, but how elementary they still were may be gathered from the fact that in the years 1663-1669, when Lionne was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he had, besides his responsibilities in instructing and corresponding with French representatives abroad, charge of the navy, of commerce, of the consular service, and at intervals of the posts; also oversight of the administration of several French provinces. He had a small staff of clerks to assist him in the performance of these duties, but an appalling number of the dispatches emanating from his office were draughted by his own hand. Of course the recruitment of secretaries of state and their clerks, as of ambassadors and lesser representatives, was

entirely fortuitous. Since there was this conspicuous absence of a diplomatic bureaucracy, trained, specialized, and fortified by forms and traditions, the source of effectiveness of French diplomacy must be sought elsewhere than in its institutions. M. Picavet, faced with this question, turns in nearly every chapter to consider the rôle played by the king himself. But his painstaking inquiry on this point has met with but meager reward. No council in Europe guarded its secrets so inviolably as Louis's. It is impossible to determine how far royal policy originated with the king, and to distinguish—except very rarely—the influence of any of his advisers in the formulation of that policy. M. Picavet does not exaggerate the king's wisdom in foreign affairs: "A côté d'appréciables qualités, l'assiduité, la conscience, et surtout l'esprit de décision, ce qui semble faire défaut au roi, c'est la capacité de dominer de grandes questions" (p. 66). Elsewhere he sums him up: "Pas de grand dessein d'ensemble, mais de la ténacité, un contrôle permanent; beaucoup d'erreurs ou de fautes si l'on veut; mais pas de défaillance" (p. 324).

The seventeenth century in M. Picavet's opinion is the period when the predominantly religious character of medieval diplomacy, envisaging a Christian Europe, yielded finally to modern diplomacy, which assumed an equilibrium of states. The example in procedure had been set by Venice, but the congress which drew up the Peace of Westphalia opened a new period of multiplied and intensified diplomatic activity in which France took the lead. The tone was determined by Machiavelli, and the "profonde immoralité de la politique d'ancien régime" was not in practice mitigated by the attempt of Grotius to moralize international relations.

M. Picavet has supplied an admirably comprehensive bibliography, but there are few citations of sources or authorities to accompany the text, and, where they occur, it is often without page references.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1622-1784. By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, PH.D., Professor of European History in the Johns Hopkins University. Volume I. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 469. \$7.50.)

THE present volume appeared shortly after the premature death of Edward Raymond Turner. It is the third in the series on the English executive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first two of which have already been reviewed in this journal (XXXIII. 385; XXXIV. 117). Perhaps the scope of the one here to be considered can best be indicated in the author's own words in his preface: In it

are set forth the beginnings of the foreign committee in the time of James I, with account of the succession of committees of limited membership in the seventeenth century under that name concerned not only with foreign affairs but with all other matters of moment; how Charles

II reforming the privy council renounced such a committee, yet constituted a similar one that bore a different name; how his committee of intelligence was shortly known again as the foreign committee, and was later designated "the committee" and its members "lords of the committee". In further chapters are collected early references to cabinet and *junto* in England, and detailed consideration is devoted to the evidence for indentifying the cabinet in the seventeenth century with the various foreign committees of the time of Charles I and Charles II, with "the committee" of William and Mary, and with the "lords of the committee" under Anne. After 1679 no committee of foreign affairs was formally appointed, and about the beginning of the Hanoverian period the term cabinet superseded the others. Yet, while the cabinet ceased to be appointed as a standing committee of the privy council, and while it had become in effect a small council itself, it ceased not to be regarded formally and legally as the committee for foreign affairs.

A fourth volume describing the "structure, organization and work of the cabinet" from 1717 to the reign of George III., was apparently so nearly completed by the late Professor Turner that its publication may ere long be expected. This is to contain the bibliography, although the nature of the material, mostly from the sources, is amply indicated in footnotes to the pages already in print. The general character of the study has already been indicated in previous reviews. All available records have been diligently searched, and vast numbers of references to the cabinet and its possible precursors have been patiently accumulated and set forth.

The author has admitted in his preface that he "has used what seem to be too much detail and illustration", justifying himself on the ground that "much of the data is illusive and difficult to interpret". His honest effort to tell the whole story is to be commended; nevertheless it may be questioned whether such conclusions as he undertakes to draw could not have been presented just as effectively on less copious illustrative evidence. As anyone knowing the man and his writings might expect, he "has endeavored to go no further than the evidence allowed. He has sought no striking deductions when the sources seemed not to allow them. He has tried to avoid facile explanations of obscure constitutional development merely from political events. Nor has he tried for complete simplicity by omitting contrary evidence when that evidence appeared. . . ." Hence we find such honest and vague statements as the following: "That part of counciliar development in England which gave rise to the cabinet council appears in its earlier stages so faint and indistinct that there may always remain some uncertainty about what the English cabinet was at first and exactly how it came to be."

As to a few details: it is striking to note that even in those leisurely days there were, between 1660 and 1667, some seventy-two committees, though most of them were temporary bodies. It may convey some comfort to the harassed professor in a modern university to learn that, out of fifty-four committees chosen between 1660 and 1664, the two secretaries of state served on forty-three. A point raised in a previous volume is

well worth reiteration; namely, that not all business transacted or noted in the first record by a clerk or member is embodied in permanent form in the privy council register (p. 57²²). Also there is a sound warning against drawing conclusions from absence of records (p. 72⁸²). Pages 100 and 106 seem a bit contradictory on the domestic activities of the committee of intelligence. This volume like its predecessors ends abruptly without a summary; but, throughout, the author has endeavored to show that, under one name or another, there was from the early seventeenth century a committee of foreign affairs that was also a small interior council for the management of various domestic concerns. From this the modern cabinet is to be traced.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The Early History of Banking in England. By R. D. RICHARDS, PH.D., B.Sc. (London: P. S. King and Son. 1929. Pp. xx, 319. 15 s.)

RECENT years have brought to an end the serious neglect of the early history of banking in England, but the papers of Unwin (1913-1927), Buckley (1924), and Tawney (1925) were after all merely an introduction to the large amount of material available. Dr. Richards has shown unusual energy in assembling, and great skill in the discussion of this difficult and technical material. In addition to the pamphlets, printed materials, and state papers previously used he has drawn largely from the account books of private bankers, from the minute books of the Bank of England, from the accounts and papers of the Exchequer of Receipt, and has made notable use of the extant specimens of early credit instruments. Much of this material has hitherto been ill known or entirely ignored.

The description of the money market in the sixteenth century adds many details to the work of Unwin, Buckley, and Tawney without changing the larger elements in the account furnished by them. The discussion of the Tudor and Stuart banking schemes based on the pamphlets of the period adds details to the accounts available in Dunbar's essay and in Andréades's *History of the Bank of England*. No attempt has been made to deal in great detail with the foundation of the Bank of England, although the point of view is fresh and the general circumstances of those years are vividly described.

The vital contribution of the volume consists in the elaborately documented description of the work of the goldsmith bankers, and the careful study of the early banking policies of the Bank of England. The credit instruments, the bookkeeping practices, and the banking policies are studied for the whole of this critical period, affording the first significantly documented study of the development of checks, negotiable bills of exchange, and demand notes. As it was long supposed that the goldsmiths were ruined by the Stop of the Exchequer in 1672, the continuity of this development of modern commercial banking has been in doubt. Dr.

Richards has shown that the influence of the Stop of the Exchequer was less serious than was originally supposed, and that the more important goldsmiths continued in business as before. The amount of new material is so large that it is scarcely possible to select representative samples of the new items. Portions of the present text, too, have already appeared in periodicals, so that some of the new results will be known to diligent readers of periodicals and there is the less need of describing in greater detail the contributions of this important addition to the literature on the early history of banking.

Harvard University.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution. By WELL-MAN J. WARNER, PH.D. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1930. Pp. x, 299. \$5.00.)

EARLY Methodism is here represented as an ethical and social movement with a theological basis and a religious motive. As such it was one of the determining forces in the industrial revolution going on in England during the eighteenth century. This fact has long been recognized, but from a study of much contemporary evidence, industriously collected, Dr. Warner reveals the social theory which the movement embodied and precisely what it accomplished. Certain basic doctrines of the Wesleys kept them outside the camp of the political radicals. They held that man's primitive condition had been one of freedom and happiness, not, as Rousseau affirmed, because of external conditions, but because of the original state of man's mind and will. To this earlier healthfulness the soul of the individual might be restored. A better social order, accordingly, was to be sought not by attempting to change institutions, but through a psychological transformation. Furthermore, viewing government as divinely ordained for moral ends, they regarded the theory that it is based on the consent of the governed actuated by self-interest as both false and immoral, and denied that the individual has any natural or personal right to participate therein. Wesley judged the masses to be morally and mentally unfit to govern. As a result Methodism wore the garb of conservatism, it shunned any alliance with groups committed to agitation, let politics severely alone, and counselled loyalty to existing authorities. Their attitude toward economic affairs, however, made the early Wesleys an influential factor in the changing social life of their day. The attainment of "perfection" was authenticated, not by a remotely realized salvation, but by the discernible evidence of conduct in the industrial organization, a providentially prescribed instrument, which the human will could use for moral ends. The industrial virtues were viewed as Christian virtues. Economic failure signified their absence. Money was "the precious talent that contained all the rest". Its pursuit, conditioned by strict moral standards, was a divinely sanctioned calling. Methodists were to get all they could, and save all they could, but they were to devote it all, except what was required for a

frugal existence, to the community's use. As a result the initiative to which the political field was barred had free rein in the economic realm. Here in an orderly way and in conservative disguise the Wesleyans, recruited chiefly from the lower middle class, did more for themselves and exerted a stronger liberalizing influence than they could have accomplished through political agitation. They produced a mass improvement in their social status and achieved a degree of power and prestige; discredited the current assumption of the economic helplessness and corresponding political impotence of the masses; helped to refute the mercantile theory that class exploitation was necessary to the health of the economic order; contributed to the innovating mood of the new age by successfully combating the prejudice against change; and stimulated a philanthropic spirit and habit. Although presented in a somewhat heavy and monotonous style, Dr. Warner's study, thorough, detailed, discriminating, and well-documented, is a valuable contribution both to the literature on Methodism and to the social history of the period with which it deals.

Washington, D. C.

HARRIS E. STARR.

La Révolution Française. Par GEORGES LEFEBVRE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, RAYMOND GUYOT, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, et PHILIPPE SAGNAC, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, tome XIII.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. 583. 60 fr.)

THIS volume of the series *Peuples et Civilisations* is in many ways like a volume of the familiar series on French history edited by Lavissee. Topical divisions and the arrangement of bibliographies are alike in both series. Both are the best and latest fruits of a scholarship officially associated with the Third Republic. Both are designed to interest the general reader, to serve as authentic reference works, and to fulfill something more like the function of our textbooks than eulogists of European methods of education are likely to admit. This volume is shorter, however, and treats a greater subject—the French Revolution and its repercussion in Europe and America—than the volumes of Sagnac and Pariset in the Lavissee series. M. Lefebvre writes about events up to the end of the Convention, M. Guyot writes about the Directory, and M. Sagnac contributes two chapters on the Revolution and European civilization, and the conclusion.

The coöperative method of writing history is here at its best. In training, in attitude, one almost thinks in temperament, the three collaborators are in perfect harmony. There is nothing disjointed about the work, no sudden transitions, no conspicuous differences of opinion between one writer and another. M. Sagnac does, indeed, give an estimate of Mirabeau (p. 496) at variance with M. Lefebvre's frequently

expressed opinions of that statesman. The scholarship of the three authors, in a field where the printing press can easily keep ahead of all but the most diligent, is thoroughly modern. The bibliographies are excellent—not overloaded, briefly critical, well balanced as between monographic and general works, as between local and general history. But the greatest virtue of the book is its successful compactness. The work of M. Lefebvre in particular brings out a great deal that is new about a great many things, does it in few words, and yet without a trace of that summary use of mere epithets by which so many of our newer textbook histories achieve condensation.

Measured by what one finds in such general histories as those of Michelet, Mignet, or even Taine, this is a dull book. There is no use dwelling at length here, and at the expense of a book which in this respect is one among many, on the fact that the best trained, the most learned, and therefore perhaps the most competent modern historians are writing for a public as professionally restricted as the public of the physicist or the chemist. Nor perhaps should we insist too much on the fact that this book is a product of the official republican school of historians founded by Aulard. To the superior outsider, it may seem that the quarrel between the school of Taine and that of Aulard-Mathiez has done lasting harm to the study of the French Revolution; but that is doubtless one form of the illusion that to be unconcerned in a quarrel makes one a fair umpire in it. The marks of the official school are readily discernible here: lofty neglect of the opposing school; evident attachment to the stereotypes of Rousseau, and an equally evident unwillingness to analyze his ideas or to admit that these ideas played any part in the excesses of the Terror (see for instance page 145, note); an attitude of “*défense républicaine*” against anything that seems like an attack on the Revolution. Yet even in these respects, the present work shows signs of a greater equanimity than the founders of the school habitually showed. Burke, if not understood, is at least not dismissed as a madman; the old internecine quarrel of *Dantonistes* and *Robespieristes* is rather neatly put off (page 121 and note); two whole chapters are devoted to intellectual history; and the theory that the Terror was simply a “*gouvernement de défense nationale*” (long a cardinal tenet of the school) is repudiated for the class-struggle theory (p. 232).

The writers are, of course, Frenchmen and patriots, though not chauvinists. The European scope of the book was rather a problem. For a history of the Western World from 1789 to 1799 too much attention is paid to France. England is more fully treated than any other country, and yet its internal history is far from completely described. It is probable, however, that the author's intention was rather to write a history of the Revolution in its European setting. A great deal of fairness is maintained in the sections dealing with foreign relations. But M. Guyot does conclude that the “*vrai motif*” of the Directory's policy of natural frontiers was “*la sûreté: couvrir les voies d'invasion de 1792 et de 1793*” (p. 294).

M. Lefebvre, as was to be expected, is particularly good on social and economic history. A single paragraph on the *biens nationaux* (p. 58) is a masterpiece of pertinent condensation. But he has also shown an unexpected talent at diplomatic history, telling his story plainly, and without annoying professional *clichés*. He is thoroughly committed to the economic interpretation of history. He distinguishes, apparently, four "classes ennemies"—the old aristocracy, the bourgeoisie (including the richer landed peasants), the artisans of the towns (including for some purposes the petty shopkeepers) and the rural proletariat. The Revolution was made by the bourgeoisie, and even the Convention, the Mountain, and the Jacobin clubs were bourgeois in composition. The Gironde was *bourgeois* in its aims; the Mountain, partly driven by war necessity, partly by personal rivalries with the Girondins, had to find allies in the proletariat, and hence took measures describable as *étatistes* and *interventionnaires* though not as *socialistes*. The Mountain fell when the proletariat saw through this game, saw that it had nothing material to gain from Jacobin rule. M. Lefebvre possesses the gift of making controversial generalisations in a tone so objective as to disguise their controversial character. "Pitt lui-même n'osa faire appel à la nation anglaise, par peur de la démocratie" (p. 27). Of the *Constituants* "élevés par les prêtres, nourris de l'antiquité, l'idée de laïcité leur était inconnue" (p. 60) "L'ancien régime [en Europe] fut vaincu parce qu'il craignait que la victoire ne se retournât contre lui" (p. 164).

M. Guyot does well with the somewhat ungrateful subject of the Directory. His work is, on the whole, a defense of the achievements of the Directory. Their foreign policy he considers primarily as inherited from the Convention; the failure of the general peace in 1797 is not chiefly theirs. His chapters on the financial and institutional achievements of the Directory are a valuable antidote to the customary depreciation of this part of their work.

M. Sagnac's chapters are in some ways the most interesting and the least satisfactory of the whole book. He has definitely attempted something new, at least from the point of view of the professional historian—the intellectual or cultural history of the Revolution in Europe. But he has not allowed himself room enough (80 pages), and his leading idea, the distinction between rationalists and empiricists, seems too simple to be fruitful. Philosophy makes stranger bedfellows than politics if Locke, Hume, Priestley, Malthus, Burke, and Pitt are all to be lumped together as empiricists (p. 466).

There is a useful index. Mechanically, the book is well above the average, even as to the spelling of foreign names, in spite of a few *errata*. As a matter of opinion, one may question whether in the United States in 1789 "la république était aux mains des grands planteurs de Virginie" (p. 23); whether Robespierre "à peu près seul" succeeded in saving the Jacobins at the time of the Feuillant schism (p. 96); whether the reason given for Canning's choice of name for the *Anti-Jacobin* is not too re-

fined (p. 388); and whether Godwin is not better described as an anarchist rather than as a communist (p. 529).

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

The Assignats. By S. E. HARRIS, Lecturer on Economics, Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XXXIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. Pp. xix, 293. \$3.50.)

THIS is a good book about which much might be written in the way of derogation. The author's use of French when English would serve, the careless bibliography, the too abbreviated footnotes, frequent ambiguous expressions and occasional "floating" paragraphs, the indefiniteness of the legends of some of the charts may retard recognition of the book's substantial virtues. Without further remark upon such matters, the aim of this review is to show what the author has undertaken to do, and very notably succeeded in doing, and to comment on some of the historical connections of his results.

The core and substance of the book is a series of statistical studies of the assignat. Most of the important results are presented in the twenty-five graph charts, nearly all of them multiple and comparative. One shows that the revenue from taxation increased steadily and substantially down to 1793. Another presents the proportion of assignats destroyed to the total in circulation. The graphs of the monthly deficits and the emissions of assignats show a close correlation up to October, 1793, and from that time onward a peculiar discrepancy which Dr. Harris notes but does not explain. The relations between the variations of the assignats and the prices of foreign exchange, of gold and silver, of wheat, the comparison of variations of the assignat in different departments, groups of departments and regions—such coordinations indicate the freshness and interest of his mode of attack.

The reviewer is not in a position to estimate the technical quality of the graphs, but the statistical work seems to have been done critically and with commendable care in securing the consistent and exact use of terms. Certainly the results of the statistical collections are striking. It is a shock to learn that at this late date in the historiography of Revolutionary finance, critical work was still to be done on the simple (?) totals of the assignats issued, that the distinction which Dr. Harris makes between the value of the assignat in terms of gold and that in terms of index price is new, that no one had hitherto investigated the history of the land security of the assignats.

The economic conclusions are generally dubious. Not infrequently, Dr. Harris, with disconcerting complaisance, after a difficult bit of statistical analysis, abandons the reader with the unsatisfying conclusion that "the phenomena are puzzling", or with the question, "Or is there some other explanation?" Uncertainty, however, is at least safer than undue positiveness. The author insists that the decline of the assignats

followed closely the degree of fear of famine. It is likely that what seems to be the decline of the assignat is really a rise in prices of food stuffs. Varying degrees of scarcity could account for many of the regional differences in the value of the assignat. Certainly on the basis of his somewhat sketchy index price, it is hard to follow Dr. Harris in his conclusion that "Caron's conviction as to the rather secondary influence of everything but the price of gold and silver in Paris does not appear to be well founded".

As history, the treatment is not fully worked out. The chapter on "The Control of Prices and Supplies", made up of the strongest collection of data I know of on the relation between economic doctrine and party cleavage in the Convention, is nevertheless, unorganized. Other efforts to solve the problem are ignored. Aulard's story of the payment of the American debt should have been used; it would at least have saved the author the absurd statement that the Americans had paid four-fifths of their debt by December, 1791. It would also have made clearer the mechanism by which the American exchange was kept above the general level. The fear of famine was an old and familiar fear in France; but I have yet to find adequate evidence that any large number of people actually starved to death after 1789, as they did frequently enough before 1750.

The University of Wyoming.

F. L. NUSSBAUM.

Histoire des Insurrections de l'Ouest. Par LÉON DUBREUIL. Tome I. [Manuels d'Histoire Moderne.] (Paris: Rieder. 1929. Pp. 328. 30 fr.)

For most readers of the French Revolution the struggle in La Vendée recalls hardly more than names of epic heroes, La Rochejaquelein, Charette, D'Elbée, and of epic villains like Carrier, with his fusillades and noyades. The region is not often visited by the tourist, and its villages and towns possess a confusing fluidity of location. It is probably the relation of the struggle to the disasters of the Church during the Revolution that continually prompts reëxamination of the problems. Léon Dubreuil proposes to devote two volumes to the question, of which the first has now appeared. He has been one of the most useful of the group associated in the studies of the economic history of the Revolution. Among other works he has edited two volumes on the *Vicissitudes du Domaine Congéable en Basse-Bretagne* and one on the *Vente des Biens Nationaux dans le Département du Nord*. He wisely begins his treatment with a geographical study of the whole region, for he holds that topography had something to do with the reactionary or conservative attitude of the Vendean peasant. Adopting the view of Professor Mathiez that the Church could have "baptized" the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, he blames the nonjuring priests for the growth of the rebellious spirit in the West. This gave the nobles like the Marquis de la Rouairie recruits for their counter-revolutionary armies. Rouairie himself, who, by the way, fought in the War of American Independence, did not live to see

the armies move, but M. Dubreuil shows that he had worked out a very complete technique of insurrection. One fact that M. Dubreuil brings out clearly is that the attempt of the Convention to raise three hundred thousand volunteers in February, 1793, was not the cause of the Vendean wars. There had been outbreaks much earlier, one before the king was overthrown. The call for men and the measures taken to enforce it did offer the occasion, and the seizure of Rouairie's papers revealed the names of many noble conspirators and gave them the alternative of rising at once or fleeing the country.

Apropos of nonjuring priests, M. Dubreuil shows that the Legislative Assembly in passing a bill providing that they should be removed from their former parishes and forced to reside in the capital of the department was applying a remedy for the growth of fanaticism and disorder which the western departmental directories had begun to use nearly a year before. It was not the Paris Jacobins that took the initiative but the authorities on the spot, often themselves practicing Catholics.

In the first part of the volume which deals with the origins of the insurrection the author displays an admirable objectivity of view, but when he comes to describe the actual campaigning and the furious quarrels which destroyed the efficiency of the "Blues" as well as of the "Whites" he does not escape the tone of partisanship. He sneers at the conviction of the Aulard school of historians that Philippeaux was a "brave et loyal représentant" and remarks in connection with Carrier's arrival at Nantes on October 7 that to him "allait revenir l'honneur de seconder les troupes républicaines au cours de cette campagne dont le résultat sera de jeter les Vendéens hors de la Vendée". It is only with the second volume that we shall know how far this attitude of apology and approval of Carrier goes. To turn to the "Whites", one of the strangest things was their inability in this deadly struggle to attain anything like unity of plan. Charette seemed always playing a "lone hand". Another strange phenomenon was the thorough-going democratic organization of the Vendéans. An element of comedy is added in the rôle of the Abbé Guillot de Folleville, pseudo-bishop of Agra.

Fürstenbriefe an Napoleon I. Herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH M. KIRCHEISEN. Band I., *Deutsche Fürsten und Fürstinnen*. Band II., *Ausserdeutsche Fürsten und Fürstinnen, Fürsten und Fürstinnen aus dem Hause Bonaparte*. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche. 1929. Pp. xi, 361; xvii, 384. 14 M.)

In placing before us this collection of letters addressed to Napoleon by members of the European dynasties, one of the most eminent of German authorities upon Napoleonic history may be said to have broken new ground. The appearance of the *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier* and the succeeding shoals of *Lettres inédits* and *Derniers lettres inédits* would seem to justify the assumption that only a negligible number of his writings, in as far as they exist, still remain out of print. This of course

can not be said of the incalculable mass of written matter received by him in turn. In fact, the only attempts in this direction have been of a strictly limited nature, dealing only with the communications addressed to him by particular individuals. Dr. Kircheisen now presents us with a set of letters from those who might well be called Napoleon's principal foreign correspondents, as well as from the members of his own family. Such a collection had been projected by Napoleon at St. Helena, the declared objective being to hold up to scorn the monarchs who had once humbled themselves before him. But the letters which he claimed to have assembled before his departure from France and entrusted to Joseph have never been located, and so the emperor's wishes were not to be fulfilled before the present publication.

To the student of Napoleon it will be a source of perpetual disappointment that the editor did not feel himself in a position to attempt a complete collection of such epistles. "For the success of such a project not only considerable funds, but a staff of co-workers and many years would be essential." Instead, the more modest aim of presenting only the most important and characteristic of these communications was adopted. This objective has been steadily kept in view and there are few noteworthy omissions. Among these might be cited the reply of Emperor Francis (January 23, 1805) to the announcement of Joseph's proposed elevation to the throne of Italy, though we are given the succeeding letter referring to Napoleon's subsequent decision to place the iron crown upon his own head. Several characteristic letters of Frederick William III. during the period of the French occupation of Hanover are also missing, in particular that accompanying the Lombard mission to Brussels (July 7, 1803). The fact is, as with all of Dr. Kircheisen's publications, that the volumes are intended primarily for the intelligent reading public, specifically that of Germany, and only in the second place for the historian. The latter would certainly have preferred the preservation of the French originals, no matter how excellent the translation may be. It is equally unfortunate from his viewpoint that there are no individual references to the source of the originals, though it is evident that the vast majority of the documents were selected from the Archives of the French Foreign Office.

For the use of the general reader the two volumes are admirably constructed. Each is provided with an introduction, describing briefly the correspondence and relations between Napoleon and the principal personages. The communications are interlarded with a running commentary, each being placed in its proper framework. There is a large number of portraits and facsimiles.

The University of Minnesota.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Napoléon et l'Espagne, 1799-1808. Par ANDRÉ FUGIER, Agrégé d'Histoire, Docteur ès Lettres. Two volumes. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. xliv, 406; 494. 65 fr.)

THIS second distinguished contribution of Dr. Fugier's to Spanish history in the Napoleonic period concerns itself not with the "Spanish ulcer" itself but with the physiological origins of that ulcer. Where did Napoleon get his ideas on Spain? To what extent did he consciously try to corroborate them? How, precisely, must the responsibility for the final break be distributed? At what point did Napoleon first conceive what seems in retrospect his most diabolical piece of deception: his Spanish alliance against Portugal that made it possible to introduce troops into the country of an ally whom he intended to attack?

In order to answer these important questions, Dr. Fugier begins with the mutually suspicious relations between Napoleon's predecessors, the Executive Directory, and Godoy, the Prince of Peace. He shows how Bonaparte as Consul profited by Godoy's repugnance for the Directory. He then shows how Bonaparte, who had learned in his First Italian Campaign to think of Spain as an Italian power, concluded from his Egyptian expedition that France could find in Spain an invaluable naval power and a much-needed source of wealth.

After Brumaire Bonaparte determined to make use of Spain in those three domains: in Italy, on the sea, and in subsidies. He learned to be skeptical of Spanish military support in the unsatisfactory "War of the Oranges" in 1801; to distrust her financial support when she failed to remit promptly the subsidies with which she purchased neutrality in 1803-1804; and by 1805 he had determined to aid Godoy in his schemes against Portugal in return for the assistance of the Spanish navy. The Third Coalition delayed Napoleon's sending troops for a joint expedition against Portugal but it gave the Spanish navy a chance to show at Trafalgar that in this realm also a Spanish alliance was a broken reed. Finally Godoy's notorious proclamation of October 5, 1806, finished convincing Napoleon that Spain under Godoy would always be a faithless ally.

By Jena, then, Napoleon had made use of Spain's dynastic ambitions in Italy; he had become convinced that either through unwillingness or inefficiency her government was an ineffective ally on sea and a delinquent tributary; and that the Godoy régime could not be trusted morally. In his demand that Spain furnish him auxiliary troops for service in northern Europe Dr. Fugier can find no evidence that he already planned an attack: on the contrary the whole episode of the corps of La Romana seems to him to indicate that Napoleon saw in it a way of convincing Europe that he trusted his Spanish allies and a way of holding Spain at his side through diplomatic hostages. Dr. Fugier even rejects Savary's claim that after Tilsit Napoleon began to think of seizing the Spanish crown. On the contrary, when Tilsit came to free his hands for action in the south, he considered the possibility of controlling Madrid more effectively.

through a marriage alliance. What he did plan to do was to hold central Portugal, unassigned by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, as a possible exchange for Spain north of the Ebro, thus intrenching himself on Spain's flank where he could in the future exact coöperation in his European policy and particularly in the Continental Blockade. It was the Escorial scandal that in Dr. Fugier's opinion first led him seriously to consider seizing the Spanish crown. The project of a Bonapartist bride for Ferdinand failing, he turned to Joseph and Lucien. It was, moreover, imperative that he accomplish quickly whatever solution was to be adopted in order that Spanish ships and Spanish gold might be rendered available for his Oriental projects and also in order that Alexander might be faced with a *fait accompli* that would prevent his higgling for Constantinople. Dr. Fugier concludes that it was not until February, 1808, that he almost certainly planned to overthrow the Spanish Bourbons.

These two volumes owe their very high quality to a combination of virtues. Mechanically they boast an index, an appendix containing a handful of unpublished correspondence of Napoleon's, and an extraordinarily rich bibliography. There are indeed some distressing slips in proof reading, both in the French text and more particularly in English quotations, but not many for nearly nine hundred pages. Their principal virtue is their very fine grasp of the general context of the Napoleonic era: without ever forgetting the central theme of the Spanish problem, the author has succeeded in furnishing that problem the background without which it would be trivial.

Finally, this work confirms the judgment of Napoleon which humanity, certainly academic humanity, has with such reluctance had to accept: that Bonaparte's strength lay precisely in his quick meeting of problems as they arose rather than in the elaboration of dogmatic advance plans. It was his subservience to his master, "the nature of things", which gave depth to his use of the word destiny. And this fine feeling for reality is apparent even where, as in the Spanish imbroglio, he was guilty of using inferior subordinates, and where he was temperamentally ill-fitted to deal with a very subtle problem. Certainly, as Dr. Fugier points out, he misjudged the Spanish; he misjudged Spain's financial and naval potentialities; in the strictest sense he never had a Spanish policy; but in view of these failings his ability to reach decisions neither too late nor—what is rarer in all but the exceptional man of action—too soon, leaps from every page of this remarkable monograph.

The University of Virginia.

STRINGFELLOW BARR.

Talleyrand, 1754-1838. Par G. LACOUR-GAYET, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II., 1799-1815. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1930. Pp. 495. 40 fr.)

THE second volume of Lacour-Gayet's biography of Talleyrand presents a critical and penetrating study of the life of the celebrated diplomat from the days immediately following the 18th Brumaire through

the period of the Congress of Vienna. The author has done more, perhaps, than any previous student of Talleyrand's career, to reveal the man whose expressed desire it was to render himself and his actions enigmatic to his own generation and to posterity. "Je veux que pendant des siècles on continue à discuter sur ce que j'ai été, ce que j'ai pensé et ce que j'ai voulu", he said one day in 1812 to the Countess of Kielmannsegge.

The value of this volume lies not alone in its searching psychological portraiture of the central figure. The problem of the man in relation to his times preoccupies the author, whose work is most significant as an evaluation of the rôle which Talleyrand played in the various phases of European politics from 1799 to 1815. The measure of his responsibility in the foreign and domestic affairs of the Consulate and Empire, as well as his part in the restoration of the Bourbons, is carefully weighed. Evidence from all available sources is brought to bear on controversial points, as, for example, the personal relations which existed between Talleyrand and Napoleon, the rôle of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, Talleyrand's responsibility in the Spanish policy of the Empire, and in the establishment of the Continental Blockade, his part at Tilsit and at Erfurt, and finally, the intrigues which earned for him the title of "artisan de la Restauration".

As in the first volume of the biography, Lacour-Gayet finds no color too dark with which to paint the almost unrelieved shadows of the personal character of Talleyrand, and shows him to have been in public as in private life, ambitious, unscrupulous, self-interested, venal, even traitorous. He does not fail, however, to place the emphasis where it belongs, and to render full justice to the brilliance of his diplomatic achievement. He gives him the credit due his repeated efforts after 1805 to persuade Napoleon to follow an international policy with "la modération" as the keynote. He places so high an estimate upon his abilities as to entertain the idea that Talleyrand's entire coöperation with Napoleon even after the disaster of the Russian campaign might have done much to save the Empire. On the other hand, when he believes it to be merited, he does not hesitate to criticize unfavorably. For example, he questions not so much motive as far-sightedness in Talleyrand's signing of the provisions of the Convention of April 23 and of the treaty of May 30, 1814. He sees a serious omission in his failure at the Congress of Vienna to organize the Rhineland into a neutral buffer state, but concedes that the prestige of France among the powers of Europe, regained in 1815, was largely the result of his diplomatic genius.

A faintly discernible Napoleonic sympathy tinges the study, but does not destroy the generally impartial and equitable character of the book. Lacour-Gayet's biography may well take its place among the authoritative works on French diplomatic history. The appearance of the third and concluding volume of the series, dealing with the period from 1815 to 1838, is to be anticipated with well-founded interest.

Washington, D. C.

PHOEBE A. HEATH.

Correspondance du Prince Joseph Poniatowski avec la France. Volumes III., IV., V., 1810-1813. [Société des Amis des Sciences de Poznań, Commission Historique.] (Poznań: l'Imprimerie de l'Université de Cracovie. 1928. 1929. Pp. 349, 326, 457.)

PRINCE JOSEPH PONIATOWSKI, the gallant nephew of the unhappy last king of Poland, holds a place second only to that of Kościuszko in the hearts of his compatriots. Apart from his participation in the final struggles for independence of the old Republic in 1792 and 1794, his greatest public services were rendered during the period of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. As minister of war, creator of the new Polish army, one of Napoleon's principal lieutenants in Central Europe, field marshal of France, and commander of the Polish forces during the glorious year 1809 and the tragic campaigns of 1812 and 1813, he struggled with unsurpassed courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice against almost steadily adverse fortune; he did, at least, do much to restore his nation's self-respect and its reputation abroad; and the world has not forgotten his tragic death—in the waters of the Elster, defending the rear of the French army in the flight after Leipzig.

We may, therefore, welcome the publication of Prince Joseph's correspondence with France undertaken by Professor A. M. Skalkowski of the University of Poznań, who has long ranked as one of the foremost investigators of Polish history during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. The documents here presented were collected by him about thirty years ago, but only fragments of them have been quoted or cited in his subsequent studies. Their complete publication, started in 1914, was interrupted by the World War, so that the first two volumes (covering the years 1807-1809) appeared only in 1921 and 1923, and the work could be terminated only last year.

Most of the material comes from French sources: the Archives Nationales, the Archives Historiques de la Guerre, the Archives Administratives de la Guerre, the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. But Professor Skalkowski has also drawn copiously from the diplomatic and military archives of Dresden and Vienna and from a host of Polish archives, public and private. Nearly all the documents here printed are in the French language. The headings, footnotes, and indexes are in Polish. The editor's work has been done in thoroughly scholarly fashion; at the most one might regret the lack of a table of contents in each volume.

We have here only documents emanating from Prince Joseph. To have included the orders, letters, or replies of his correspondents would doubtless have swelled the bulk of the collection inordinately, although the lack of them (except for a certain number supplied in the footnotes) inevitably makes more difficult the full comprehension of Poniatowski's own letters. It may also be noted that the editor has not conformed exactly to the title he has given his work, in as far as he has printed a large number of letters and reports addressed, not to Frenchmen, but to

King Frederick Augustus of Saxony as Grand Duke of Warsaw, to Saxon ministers at Dresden and Vienna, to various Austrian generals, etc. But these apparently extraneous materials do often throw light on the Polish war minister's relations with France; and, in any case, it seems ungracious to quarrel with an editor for giving more than his title promises.

There are, it would seem, no new facts of the first importance to be gleaned from this collection. To the general student of the Napoleonic period the most interesting parts of the work will probably be the semi-political reports in which Poniatowski persistently strove to awaken the French Caesar to the hostile preparations and machinations of his Russian ally, the Emperor Alexander. It is now well established that these warnings, particularly that contained in Prince Joseph's letter to Napoleon of February 18, 1811, gave the first serious alarm signal at Paris, and started the chain of events that led up to the great rupture of 1812. The content of these reports has long been known in a general way, but this is the first time that all of them have been printed in full. For the military history of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw this is by far the most important collection of sources yet published. Finally, these five volumes admirably supplement Professor Marcell Handelsman's *Instructions et Dépêches des Résidents de France à Varsovie, 1807-1813* (2 vols., Cracow, 1914) in bringing out in detail the complete political, military, and financial dependence upon France of the embryonic Polish state set up by Napoleon—the most loyal, politically the most important, and strategically the most exposed of all the vassal states created by him, and the only one of them whose downfall a historian need greatly regret.

Boston.

R. H. LORD.

L'Expédition de Crète et de Morée, 1823-1828: Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte et en Crète. Recueillie et publiée avec une Introduction et des Sommaires Analytiques par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. [Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, Publications Spéciales sous les auspices de sa Majesté Fouad Ier.] (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1930. Pp. xxiii, 354.)

Mohamed Aly et l'Expédition d'Alger, 1829-1830. Par le Commandant GEORGES DOUIN. [Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, Publications Spéciales sous les auspices de sa Majesté Fouad Ier.] (Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1930. Pp. xcii, 293.)

In publishing these documents regarding Mehemet Ali, 1824-1830, the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt has chosen as editors two scholars of unquestioned authority in the field of Oriental history. But for the eminence of the editors one might be ready to suspect a pro-Egyptian bias in works appearing under the auspices indicated. If such

bias appears it is due to restriction of the field of documentation which tends to throw the figure of Mehemet Ali favorably into the foreground.

Édouard Driault has limited his selection to documents which describe internal aspects of Egypt under Mehemet Ali, his campaigns in Morea and Crete, and the effects of the battle of Navarino on Franco-Egyptian relations. Inasmuch as the reports, correspondence, etc., here printed are taken exclusively from the files of "correspondance consulaire" in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and as Mehemet Ali was looming large in the diplomatic correspondence of all other European states, the reader should not expect a definitive documentation of the viceroy's foreign and domestic policy. The limitations of the collection come out best in the Navarino section, where the battle is noted only as it bears on Franco-Egyptian good will. It appears that of the fifty odd ships lost by the Turkish fleet in this affray only six were the property of Mehemet Ali, and that he was able to regard the loss lightly and maintain a friendly attitude towards France. This fact may in some way explain his willingness to countenance the punitive expedition against Algiers under French subsidy—the topic of the other volume here reviewed.

Georges Douin, the editor of this volume, in selecting documents to illustrate the negotiations regarding this expedition confined himself to two sections of the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs: (1) Correspondance Politique Égypte, Turquie 255, 260, and (2) Correspondance Consulaire, Carton Alexandrie, 1828-1830, and having thus limited himself and seeing the incompleteness of the story that these documents alone must give, has supplemented them with a ninety-two page preface, which can be regarded as a definitive monograph on the subject. This preface gives a complete running account of France's demand for a punitive expedition against the Dey of Algiers, her negotiations with Mehemet Ali and the Porte, and the reason for the failure of these negotiations. The extent to which the author had to go beyond the scope of the documents he here reprints is indicated by footnote reference to material in other sections of the French Archives of Foreign Affairs, as well as in the British Foreign Office and Public Record Office. These make obvious the shortcomings of the editor's necessarily arbitrary selection.

Douin concludes that Polignac, in need of a military victory to bolster up public faith in the government of Charles X., was willing to hire the Egyptians to punish the Dey, rather than undertake the enterprise himself, because he had planned to annex certain of the Belgian provinces with the consent of Prussia and Russia. Polignac felt that this European conquest would have the desired effect, and would obviate the necessity of the dangerous African scheme. But after negotiations had been opened with Mehemet Ali, it appears that the Czar withdrew his sanction in the matter of Belgium and forced Polignac to amend his original proposals to include France as an ally of Egypt in the African expedition.

Meanwhile both England and Turkey were loud in their objections to the prospective invasion. Polignac's second offer then was rejected by the Egyptians. Douin makes the point that this refusal was based on two factors both of which would have worked against Mehemet Ali's success in his grandiose plan to dominate the East after first taking over the decadent Turkish Empire. The first was that in allying himself to a Christian power, he would jeopardize his popularity with his Mohammedan subjects, the second that he could not afford to disregard England's objection, for he looked to her for support against Russia in the future.

Yale University.

SHERMAN KENT.

L'Araldo della Vigilia: dai Casi di Romagna ai Lutti di Lombardia.

Per MARCUS DE RUBRIS. [Biblioteca Storica, volume CXXI.]
(Turin: Sten. 1929. Pp. xix, 287. 25 lire.)

Il Cavaliere della prima Passione Nazionale. Per MARCUS DE RUBRIS. [Arcobaleno, Collana di Varietà Storiche, Artistiche, Letterarie, volume XI.] (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli. 1930. Pp. xv, 253. 15 lire.)

Confidenze di Massimo d'Azeglio: dal Carteggio con Teresa Targioni Tozzetti. Per MARCUS DE RUBRIS. (Milan: A. Mondadori. 1930. Pp. 337. 35 lire.)

Vincenzo Salvagnoli nell'Amicizia de Massimo d'Azeglio. Per MARCUS DE RUBRIS. [Quaderni di "Civiltà Moderna", numero 3.] (Florence: Vallecchi. 1930. Pp. 48. 4.50 lire.)

THESE four volumes, though published by De Rubris in rapid succession within the period of a few months, are the product of at least a decade of wide research and intensive study on the many sided life of one of the most attractive figures of modern Italian history—Massimo d'Azeglio. De Rubris has become a specialist and a foremost authority on D'Azeglio, who was not only an eminent Piedmontese statesman and collaborator of Cavour, but also a distinguished painter and man of letters.

De Rubris began his D'Azeglian publications in 1920, with a reprint of his hero's *Racconti, Leggende, Ricordi*, which is a collection of delightful little essays originally published in 1856 and 1857 in the diminutive periodical *Il Cronista*. The reprint of this collection was followed in 1921 by an anthology compiled from D'Azeglio's writings, entitled *Nel Nome d'Italia a cura di M. de Rubris*. A year later De Rubris got out a new and carefully prepared edition of *La Lega Lombarda*, an unfinished historical novel which D'Azeglio wrote between 1843 and 1845, on the eve of his entry into political life. Even in this period of preparation when occupied principally as a painter of historical scenes and as a writer of historical novels, D'Azeglio had one over-ruling purpose ever in mind, the awakening of Italian national feeling and national pride; with brush

and pencil he recalled to his oppressed fellow countrymen throughout the peninsula the past glories of Italy, in order that in the coming struggle, in which he was destined to figure for a time as prime minister of Piedmont, strong national feeling might be exploited to win Italian independence and unity. Those who then constituted the political life of the country were possessed of at least a fair amount of education and it was, therefore, far easier than it is to-day for a man of D'Azeglio's refinement and culture to exert an immediate and profound influence on public events. The intimate life of such a leader as D'Azeglio is illuminating even in its minor incidents, for its intellectual and moral values are important not only in themselves, but because their appeal found a response in the political life of the time.

In 1926, under the title *Bisogna far gl'Italiani*, De Rubris published an anthology of short sayings, many of them very clever, compiled from the writings of D'Azeglio, and in 1928 a volume of important political correspondence between him and the Florentine statesman Leopoldo Galeotti, *Carteggio Politico dal 1849 al 1860*. While publishing these volumes De Rubris also maintained a steady output of biographical essays on D'Azeglio, distributed in various Italian periodicals. Ten of these essays, relating to particular moments in the cultured statesman's life, or to some of his minor writings, have now been collected in the volume *Il Cavaliere della prima Passione Nazionale*. In most of these essays, as in his other publications, De Rubris has shown himself keen in the search for unpublished material, and in bringing to light new facts. His researches have been especially successful in the archives of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, in the Royal State Archives of Florence, and among D'Azeglio's own papers preserved by his heirs.

L'Araldo della Vigilia is a painstaking study of the principal activities of D'Azeglio from 1845 to March, 1848, years of vigorous agitation for political reforms and for liberty of the press, years which saw the foundation of many progressive newspapers, and during which political ideas developed under the influence of such publications as Gioberti's *Del Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani* (1843), Balbo's *Delle Speranze d'Italia* (1844), and D'Azeglio's *Degli ultimi Casi di Romagna* (1846). As a piece of severe historical criticism this is the best work of De Rubris, accurate and rich in new material. *V. Salvagnoli nell'Amicizia di M. d'Azeglio* is of value principally for nine unpublished letters of D'Azeglio, 1846-1859, which it contains. *Confidenze di M. d'Azeglio* is a collection of one hundred and forty-three unpublished letters addressed by D'Azeglio, 1848-1865, to a Florentine lady much younger than he, Teresa Targioni Tozzetti. They are letters not of passion, but of deep friendship, presupposing feminine interest and sympathy in all the events of the writer's life, and taken together they constitute a sort of diary from D'Azeglio's convalescence after his wound received at the siege of Vicenza in June, 1848, to November, 1865, a few weeks before his death. While the letters contain no important political revelations, they are rich

in biographical detail and in revelations of character. A romance may lie behind the correspondence, for D'Azeglio was a great beau, even in his later years, and the lady never married; but in its published form there is much beauty of style, but little sentiment. De Rubris has set the letters into an excellent biographical study, which is, however, a commentary to the correspondence rather than a complete biography for the period covered.

A full life of D'Azeglio is one of the works which students of the Risorgimento impatiently await, a work that will portray the gentleman, the artist, the patriot, the educator, the statesman against the background of heroic national effort and sacrifice. De Rubris has already contributed much to make this biography possible, he is saturated with D'Azeglio's thought and feeling, and it is to him that we now look for a *magnum opus*.

Rome.

H. NELSON GAY.

Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke, Schriften, Briefe. Herausgegeben von D. RJAZANOV. Erste Abteilung, Band I., *Karl Marx Werke und Schriften bis anfang 1844*. Dritte Abteilung, Band I., II., *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Briefwechsel, 1844-1860*. (Berlin: Marx-Engels Verlag. 1929, 1930. Pp. xlv, 371; li, 539; xxi, 564.)

A FEW months ago the "revolutionary Marxists" of Europe celebrated the sixtieth birthday of D. Rjazanov. In this case a tribute was paid not to a political leader or to a great agitator and organizer, but to a persistent and quiet historian and social investigator who devoted nearly thirty years of his life to the study of Marxism. Beginning in a small way with studies of the place of Russia in the works of Marx and Engels and with other minute researches into the various writings of Marx and Engels, Rjazanov conceived the idea of collecting and publishing all the works, writings, and letters of Marx and Engels, and all documents bearing on the history and development of Marxist theory.

The opportunity for carrying out this task came to Rjazanov in 1920, when he founded the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. This institute is now one of the well organized scientific bodies of Soviet Russia, supported in part by state funds. The volumes considered here are in the German edition which is being published simultaneously with the Russian edition by this institute under the direction and editorship of D. Rjazanov.

As the title indicates, the plan of the work is to publish a complete "historical-critical" edition of the works, writings, and letters of both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The editors have adopted the device of arranging the edition into major parts which are subdivided into volumes, which are again subdivided into semi-volumes. Thus, one of the three books under review is designated as the second half-volume of the first volume of the first part of the complete edition. This book contains the early works and "doubtful pieces" of Karl Marx which appeared before

1844, and a number of letters written by him and to him and by third persons about him. A similar volume which is volume II. of part I. has been published on Engels covering the same period.

In the book dealing with Marx is included a collection of poems which Marx wrote in 1837 and which he presented to his father "as a weak expression of filial love". These letters are published for the first time, and prove conclusively that Marx had no trace of poetic talent, but that he had an early tendency towards satire and philosophic disputation. That he was an ardent and sentimental lover is shown by these poems and by the collection of folk songs which he made from existing compendiums for his bride. The correspondence between Marx and his father during these years reveals a fine intellectual sympathy between father and son, and shows the steps in the early intellectual history of the young student. The notes, outlines, and literary plans which are brought together here show that Marx read considerably and that he reacted strongly to what he read.

Part III. of the edition is planned in ten volumes which are to include the complete correspondence between Marx and Engels, and also the letters written to them by other persons. The two volumes considered here include the correspondence between Marx and Engels. The first volume covers the period from 1844 to 1853 and the second the period from 1854 to 1860; there are 286 letters in volume I. and 437 in volume II. These letters are extremely interesting and important for the study of the character of the two men, of their relationship, and of the development of the doctrines with which their names are connected. The letters are written in a simple tone, in the vein of intimate conversation which would be carried on by two very close friends and collaborators. There are descriptions of physical ailments, of personal and family affairs, of the problems which either or both of them confronted as well as accounts of current events, summaries of articles and discussions of theories with which Marx and Engels were concerned. There are numerous comments on people who played a more or less historic part either in politics or in the revolutionary movements of the day; comments very often unrestrained in character and expression. It is an active, sincere, and matter-of-fact correspondence. The letters are written with no eye to either future publication or to what posterity may think of them. They were necessary as a medium of contact between two closely related persons who were assisting each other in the business of daily living and in their journalistic and scientific work.

As is known, the correspondence between Engels and Marx was published in 1913 under the editorship of A. Bebel and E. Bernstein, in four volumes. The editors of the present edition of the Marx-Engels Institute claim that the edition of 1913 was not only unduly abbreviated but that it was emasculated. Rjazanov, in fact, accuses Bernstein of having tried to serve partisan purposes in editing the correspondence. There is no question that the new edition, unexpurgated, does bring to light both amusing

and interesting characteristics of Engels and Marx, especially their manner of dealing with opponents which set the example of a bitter and acrimonious vituperation which is so characteristic of socialist and communist controversy. As an illustration, during the communist trial in Cologne in 1851, when one of the accused made some careless remarks, Marx wrote: "There are no more perfect asses than these German workers". That was expurgated in 1913.

From the historical point of view the work done by the Marx-Engels Institute as illustrated by the volumes considered here can not but be of immense importance. The Russians themselves may attach great importance at the present time to the polemical aspects of this work. They may feel that in bringing out the works of Marx as they are, they are justifying their claims to being the heirs of Marx and to prove their contention that the Social Democrats have consistently and deliberately "falsified" Marx. But to the social historian who is not interested in these partisan polemics, the work of the Marx-Engels Institute is no less significant. For in these unexpurgated letters we have telling material which throws light on the character of both Marx and Engels and on the origin of their doctrines. The volumes still to be published will undoubtedly clarify many disputed points in the Marxian doctrine and their effect on the socialist movement. In view of the extraordinary part which Marx and Engels have played in the intellectual and social history of our times, and in view of the hold which Marxism still has in the field of the social sciences as well as in practical politics, any material which may help to elucidate the contingent and the essential in Marx and the process by which Marxism has become a world creed and a world program can not but be of great interest.

The three volumes examined here are amazing as examples of meticulous detail, of painstaking endeavor to find even the smallest item in the lives of the two persons, and of effort and money expended in searching for material. Only a group of persons who have the devotional attitude of mind and the resources of an institute supported by a government which itself derives its inspiration from Marx can explain the prosecution of this work. But whatever the source of the effort and the impelling motives of those who carry it on, the members of the social sciences, and of the historical sciences especially, can not but be grateful that such work is being done.

The Brookings Institution.

LEWIS L. LORWIN.

Krupp, a Great Business Man seen through his Letters. Edited by WILHELM BERDROW, at the request of the Family and Firm of Krupp. Translated by E. W. DICKES. (New York: The Dial Press. 1930. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THE biography of Krupp by Baedeker and the history of the works published at the time of the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the firm cover the primary facts in the history of this complex enter-

prise. The letters here translated are of value for the supplementary light they throw upon the personality of the man, his business policy, and the details of his dealings with the departments of the Prussian state.

Although Krupp was especially anxious to further the development of Prussia in every way, nearly all his contacts with Prussian officials were discouraging. His mint machinery was adopted elsewhere more wholeheartedly than in Prussia; both his railway tires and his ordnance were generally adopted in foreign countries before their substantial adoption in Prussia. Even after the first positive success of his ordnance in 1866 and in 1870, both army and navy showed signs of backsliding. The army, even in 1871, was disposed to return to bronze field artillery; and the navy, influenced by the British decision to abandon the breech-loading system on account of technical defects, proposed to go back to muzzle-loading Armstrong guns. In these crises as in 1860, Krupp finally went over the heads of the ministers and by reaching the prince regent or the king bore down all opposition. Krupp thus came to feel that Prussia was ultimately equipped with high grade ordnance despite the avowed opposition of important persons in the war department and in the admiralty.

Judgment of all the elements involved in these complex affairs leaves one with some doubts even after the full statement of the inventor-manufacturer's difficulties. With his convictions and his eager temperament, technical obstacles that seemed forbidding to others were merely an inspiration to new efforts. He was impatient of doubt and delay, even when there were reasonable grounds. He set himself standards of accomplishment that never entered the minds even of the experts, and it was beyond his comprehension that the need of such standards was not universally recognized as a matter of course. Thus, when defects were revealed in the breech mechanism of the field guns in the campaign of 1866, he at once offered gratuitously to equip the whole lot of three hundred guns with a new and improved breech mechanism. The difficulty did not seem serious to the experts, and he was put to considerable pains to secure acceptance of his offer. Departmental complacency and devotion to tradition became more and more irritating to him, and toward the latter part of his life he at times exaggerated the extent of the shortcomings of the departments. The famous incident of the reply of Von Boyden to Krupp's first overtures affords the most significant example. The minister did not write: "the Prussian small arms are so perfect that they are incapable of further improvement"; nor did Krupp with patriotic shame burn the letter lest the incompetence of the minister be revealed. The minister actually wrote:

No use can be made (of your proposal) as regards the production of musket barrels, since the present manner of manufacturing these, and the nature of the barrels so produced, at a cost not inconsiderably less, meets all reasonable requirements and leaves hardly anything to be desired.

Nevertheless, only the influence of General von Voigts-Rhetz made the

first orders possible and even he was unable to secure sufficiently general adoption of the new ordnance to afford the opportunities needed for its full development. The perfection of the guns was made possible only by the Russian orders.

Although the military achievements outshadow the peace time applications of Krupp's products, it is important to remember the large significance of the work on railway tires, and upon forged axles for locomotives and steamboats. These products contributed largely to the growth of the works and were no less distinctive an achievement. As late as January, 1859, Krupp regarded the work with rifles and cannon merely as a demonstration of the quality of his steel, and it was not until four years later that the Russian work made the ordnance department a profitable and permanent branch of the works.

The business policies of Krupp were as unusual as his products. From the outset he adopted the policy of paying high wages in order to retain a permanent and loyal body of workmen. The rise of social democracy was a severe trial to him and led to a great development of welfare work to hold the allegiance of the men. The solvency of the establishment was at times jeopardized in order to keep the men employed. He points out repeatedly that profits must be sought in low costs and mass production. As early as 1865 projects for integration were developed, and the progress of integration in his works was at each stage sensibly in advance of like developments in Great Britain and the United States. Full appreciation of these aspects of the history of the enterprise requires some reference to the biography and to the history of the firm.

Harvard University.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Stunden mit Bismarck, 1871-1878. Von HEINRICH EDUARD BROCKHAUS, herausgegeben von HERMANN MICHEL. (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1929. Pp. xiv, 231.)

BISMARCK'S *soirées* for members of the Reichstag became an important factor in German politics after the ending of his quarrel with parliament in 1866. They were intended to serve the aims of his "parliamentary policy by non-parliamentary methods" on the theory that more could be done to eliminate political obstacles in private conversations than in debate. His remarks on these occasions are important for the study of his political methods, his personality and ideas. They were first systematically collected in Von Poschinger, *Fürst Bismarck und die Parlamentarier* (Breslau, 1894), and now this volume, which appears on the author's centenary, throws additional and clearer light upon them.

A member of the Leipzig family of publishers, and for several years the editor of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Brockhaus entered the Reichstag in 1871 as a National Liberal. His was a modest rôle. He spoke but eighteen times during seven years, and then only upon questions relating to the press and to the interests of publishers. In July, 1878, when relations between Bismarck and the National Liberals were becoming strained, Brockhaus was defeated for reelection.

Usually written soon after the author's return from the residence in Wilhelmstrasse, these notes are clearly authentic. Many relate to the same evenings reported in Poschinger's collection, and if the two sources do not always agree, the divergence is doubtless to be explained by the reporting of different conversations during the same evening. The author's own reactions furnish unconscious evidence of the fascination which Bismarck possessed for his admirers. In this case it amounted to hero-worship. Brockhaus was moved when the chancellor shook his hand, and he made a note when Bismarck first spoke his name. The minutes were counted lost when he was unable to hear what his host had said. Questions of current political interest were the usual topics of conversation: the press law, the organization of the judiciary, the location of the new Reichstag building (Bismarck preferred the Pfingstberg near Potsdam), and the chancellor's relations with party leaders.

Such expressions of Bismarck's views upon international questions as appear are chiefly of value in corroborating other sources. After 1866, he had admitted the possibility of war with France, but as Napoleon might die or be overthrown by a revolution there were reasons against forcing it. In any event, each year of peace meant "100,000 more men" for Prussia. The most serious mistake in Alsace had been the failure to deport the entire population which had French sympathies, and he added that it would not be repeated if, in another war, more territory (*z. B. Burgund*) were annexed (pp. 80, 81). The conduct of the German press during the war scare of 1875 aroused Bismarck's wrath. He had instructed the Foreign Office to break its connection with the press, and he no longer had anything to do with the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. "So he says", remarked a guest, "but he will, as always, make use of the press." But foreign affairs were not the favorite topics of conversation for the politicians who attended the *soirées*. There is an introductory sketch of the author's career and a useful index.

Duke University.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918. By MARY EVELYN TOWNSEND, PH.D., Assistant Professor of History in Teachers College, Columbia University. With an Introduction by CARLTON J. H. HAYES, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xviii, 424. \$5.00.)

Afrikanerschicksal: Gouverneur Leutwein und seine Zeit. Von DR. PAUL LEUTWEIN. (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft. 1929. Pp. 184. 8 M.)

DR. TOWNSEND's book fills a long-felt want, for until its publication, there was no authoritative history of German *Kolonialpolitik* in English. It presents within the covers of one volume, the account of how Germany acquired and lost its colonial empire in the short space of a single generation.

The opposition of Bismarck to Germany's expansion oversea has long been accepted at its face value by historians. Professor Townsend, after careful research, has established the fact that Bismarck, as in many other phases of his policy, said one thing and did another. Basing her conclusions on documentary evidence which seems incontrovertible, she shows that Bismarck's apparent lack of enthusiasm for colonial adventures in the early days of the empire was merely a period of "watchful waiting" made necessary by the exigencies of domestic politics, and the necessity of not antagonizing Britain, the greatest colonial power. This was followed by a period, lasting until 1884, during which the Iron Chancellor began to protect the German oversea traders and, finally, aided both by a well-organized propaganda for colonial expansion and by popular resentment against England, Bismarck, in 1884, inaugurated the German colonial empire.

Dr. Townsend describes in detail the subsequent development of German oversea expansion both in its relation to German domestic politics and to the international situation. Germany's late entrance into the race for colonial possessions and its effect on the balance of power was doubtless one of the indirect causes of the World War. This thoroughly documented account therefore constitutes an important contribution to the specialized literature on the background of the war.

The Treaty of Versailles deprived Germany of her entire colonial empire. Germany was accused of having countenanced and committed all sorts of crimes in the administration of her colonies and in the treatment of the native populations. It was therefore "in the interest of civilization" that her colonies were taken away from her. Dr. Townsend's book describes the German colonial administration in some detail and shows that it was about on a par with the colonial administrations of the other powers, no better perhaps, and no worse. During the first twenty years, the natives had been "cruelly treated and unjustly exploited". They had "suffered the same fate as befalls every such population throughout those stormy initial years which lay the foundations of all colonial empires". During the years 1908-1914, the situation changed and great strides were made in improving the conditions of the natives and in the administration of the colonies generally. Dr. Townsend has not of course attempted to make an exhaustive study of native conditions such as that made in *The Native Problem in Africa* by Raymond Leslie Buell, but she gives enough to dispel effectively the clouds of Allied propaganda which discredited Germany's colonial administration during the war.

Mention should be made of the excellent maps and charts which add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

The African career of Governor Leutwein as presented by his son, Captain Paul Leutwein, is in effect an *apologia* for the former governor of German Southwest Africa. In his treatment of the native populations, Governor Leutwein's policy, as he himself described it, was to "coöperate

with the natives and not forcibly to oppress them or destroy them". For the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, this policy may have seemed somewhat advanced. At any rate, Leutwein was subjected to severe criticism. This book is not only an *apologia* for his policy but forms part of the mass of material published in Germany for the purpose of controverting what is known as the "Colonial Lie" of the Versailles Treaty.

New York City.

MILDRED S. WERTHEIMER.

Fashoda, the Incident and its Diplomatic Setting. By MORRISON BEALL GIFFEN. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. ix, 230. \$3.00.)

MR. GIFFEN'S essay was awarded the George Louis Beer Prize for 1929 and its publication in the present attractive form justifies the distinction.

This study, in contrast to many monographs, is concise and interpretative rather than exhaustive and indeterminate. The policy of England and France toward the Sudan is traced with skill and clarity and the Fashoda incident correctly placed in its larger setting—the Egyptian question. In fact, Marchand's expedition was prompted by Hanotaux's desire "to reopen the Egyptian question by a back door through the Sudan" (p. 211). England's determination to forestall France led to her sudden decision to reconquer the Sudan. The Fashoda encounter is described with dramatic effect and negotiations leading to the delimitation agreement of March 21, 1899, are traced in detail.

Briefly stated, Mr. Giffen's thesis is that the French renunciation can not be accounted for by Salisbury's firm stand, the logic of the English case, the precariousness of French territorial occupation so far from the West African base, or political instability in France—it is explainable only in terms of the European situation. France's colonial policy, he points out, was conditioned on her European relations, particularly with Germany. She could not risk an encounter with England even though Germany assumed a neutral attitude, for "it was a neutrality which left only Great Britain free. For France it was no more than a further stay of the hand which in twenty-five years had been always ready to strike" (p. 158).

Mr. Giffen concludes that during the crisis France found in her alliance with Russia neither security in Europe *vis-à-vis* Germany, nor support of her ambitions in Africa. Indeed, at this time Berlin and St. Petersburg were passing through one of the recurrent periods of ardent flirtation which frequently caused anxiety and heartburnings in Paris. The author, however, fails to consider Russia's involved position in the Far East. This conditioned her relations to the powers of Western Europe.

The explanation of France's retreat from Fashoda, according to Mr. Giffen, lies in the attitude of Germany and the failure of the Russian

alliance. As a result of the controversy, England clinched her hold on Egypt, and the French, after the humiliating test of strength, became in time resigned to British occupation. Formal renunciation of Egypt, of course, was implicit in the accord of April 8, 1904. Thus, "the ground so torn and furrowed by the Fashoda controversy became in a special sense the fruitful seed-bed of the Anglo-French entente" (p. 208).

On the responsibility for ordering Marchand's advance, Mr. Giffen seems to have overlooked the letters published in *Le Matin* (June 20-24, 1905) by Marchand, Monteil, and Berthelot. Anglo-German relations in 1897-1898 are discussed without reference to the writings of Meinecke and Fischer, while standard works such as those by Fay, Brandenburg, Bourgeois, and Pagès are omitted from the bibliography. There are few typographical errors, and the accepted spelling of Omdurman is not followed. Such slips, however, do not detract materially from the clarity of presentation, lively style, and sound scholarship which make Mr. Giffen's work a distinctive contribution to recent diplomatic history.

The University of Virginia.

O. J. HALE.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.LITT., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, LITT.D., F.B.A., with the assistance of LILLIAN PENSON, PH.D. Volume VI., *Anglo-German Tension: Armaments and Negotiations, 1907-1912.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1930. Pp. lv, 867. \$5.25.)

THIS volume opens with a chapter on general Anglo-German relations at the beginning of 1907. They were far from cordial. The reasons for this, as summarized by Saunders, the Berlin correspondent of the *London Times*, in an interview with Bülow, were numerous: the impression that the Empress Frederick had not been fairly treated in Germany; the Krüger telegram; Bülow's remarks about the British army during the Boer War; Germany's policy in Morocco; the idea that Germany, in pursuit of her own selfish ends, was thwarting England's efforts for Macedonian reform; the hateful attitude of the English and German press toward one another; and, most important of all, "the real crux of the situation", Germany's determination to build a powerful navy, which conflicted with England's vital necessity of preserving supremacy at sea (pp. 154-156). Mr. G. S. Spicer, Assistant Clerk in the Foreign Office, however, traced the germs of Anglo-German tension further back: "German policy for more than 20 years, ever since the time when Bismarck preached the necessity of Germany becoming a colonial—and world—power, can be shown to have followed a line consistently unfriendly to the interests of Great Britain. From 1884 onwards there have been numerous quarrels between the two countries, in all of which Germany adopted a deliberately hostile and aggressive attitude towards Great Britain, which was deeply resented by successive British Foreign Secre-

taries" (pp. 56-58). He then recites at length incidents relating to German South West and East Africa, the Cameroons, Zanzibar, Egypt, the Yangtze Agreement, Tabah, and visits by crowned heads—in addition to the points mentioned by Saunders. The comments on Mr. Spicer's article by the two most influential men in Downing Street are significant: "A severe indictment of Germany but in my opinion correct" (Crowe); and "A very valuable analysis" (Grey).

Downing Street's endemic suspicion of Germany's policy of aggression, which already existed in 1907 and which Sir Edward Grey has revealed in his memoirs, was increased during the following years by the British and German press, and by the negotiations concerning the Bagdad Railway and naval armaments which fill the greater part of these eight hundred large pages.

The editors have been very wise in including numerous summaries of the German press from Lascelles, De Salis, and Goschen in Berlin, and from Sir Fairfax Cartwright in Munich and Vienna. The summaries of the first three were generally fair, sympathetic, and even friendly to Germany, but were often received with cool or skeptical "minutes" by the suspicious officials in London. Cartwright's press summaries, on the other hand, were cleverly written, but betray a lack of sympathy, and even hostility, toward Germany. He emphasized the Anglophobe outbursts of less important South German newspapers. In fact, a comparison of his summaries with the original articles in the German papers shows that he was even guilty of serious misrepresentations. What was his motive? Perhaps it is to be found in the psychological fact that one is apt to attribute motives to others which are really one's own, and he says of Germany's diplomatic representatives abroad: "What occupies their thoughts when writing their despatches is the desire of favorably attracting on themselves the notice of the Kaiser, and they pay little heed to the correctness of the information they send home" (p. 5). If this was Cartwright's motive, he was eminently successful, for his press summaries received such comments from Crowe, Grey, and King Edward as: "An excellent and valuable report in all respects"; "Most interesting and well worth reading"; "An interesting and suggestive despatch"; "A most able despatch"; "A thoughtful review of the situation"; "I am glad that he is back and that his reports are coming in again" (pp. 11, 32, 42, 108)—very different from the critical or skeptical comments bestowed on the more reliable reports of Lascelles and Goschen. When Lascelles retired from Berlin in 1908, Grey proposed to send Cartwright as ambassador in his place, but Cartwright's name had to be withdrawn (p. 185), and instead he was sent to Vienna to take the place of Goschen who became Lascelles's successor. At Vienna, as we know from the recently published Austrian documents, Cartwright soon incurred the ire of Count Aehrenthal, who desired his recall because of his anti-Austrian attitude and his dealings with the press.

This volume deals with several visits of royalty and their political importance. For the masses, who occupy themselves but superficially with foreign affairs, and who in those days did not see royalty so frequently portrayed as in the later movie age, royal visits attracted much attention. For the people, and even for the press, meetings of sovereigns were often the outward and visible sign of supposedly good relations between their countries. Such visits were both an aid and an embarrassment to diplomacy. If they helped for the moment to improve the relations between the countries represented by two sovereigns, there was always the danger that other countries might fear that the august personages and their ministers were plotting designs inimical to third parties. When Edward VII. visited the king of Italy in April, 1907, Berlin was reported to be "stark, staring, raving mad", because of his supposed "intention to isolate and humiliate Germany" (p. 28). When Edward VII. or Lord Haldane visited Germany, or when the Kaiser went to Windsor, the French became very nervous, although Sir Edward Grey was meticulously careful to keep them very fully informed of the discussions and to assure them that nothing would be agreed to without their knowledge. For it was one of the chief preoccupations of Downing Street that nothing should in the slightest way disturb the Entente with France.

When the Kaiser visited Windsor in 1907 he told Grey how he had first become interested in the Bagdad Railway (p. 93):

Mr. Rhodes had told him [the Emperor] that he took a map to bed with him every night, and studied what parts of the world there were waiting for European development. He had perceived Mesopotamia to be one of these; and that was the place which Germany ought to take in hand. Mr. Rhodes had said this spontaneously to the Emperor at the very moment that the latter had conceived the idea of the Bagdad Railway, and when there were only four persons—himself, the Sultan, the German Chancellor, and the German Ambassador in Constantinople—who knew of the project. The Emperor had said to Mr. Rhodes: "You are perfectly right, and that is what we intend to do."

Rhodes had promised to do all he could in London to encourage the project. But in 1903, the British government, in spite of the personal wishes of Lord Lansdowne and the British bankers, had refused to approve British financial participation in the Bagdad Railway, and thenceforth for years the British government continually obstructed the project which the Kaiser had so fondly at heart. At the Windsor meeting of 1907, the Kaiser was willing to concede to England the "gate" to India, that is, the control of the railway section from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. But Sir Edward Grey, out of regard for France and Russia, insisted that the negotiations should be *à quatre* instead of *à deux*; Germany, unwilling to be in a minority of three to one, did not want to negotiate on this basis, and no understanding was reached (pp. 96 ff., 325 ff.). Moreover Russia, in order to block negotiations, persistently delayed stating her wishes until 1910, when, without showing the slightest grati-

tude for Grey's consideration for her interests, she suddenly made a direct deal with Germany behind England's back. Grey also obstructed an increase in the Turkish tariff, which would have afforded revenues needed by Germany for completing the railway. Less well known is Grey's demand on Turkey for a rival railway concession from the Persian Gulf toward the Mediterranean by way of the Euphrates Valley (p. 371 ff.).

Anglo-German naval rivalry is the most important single subject which runs all through this volume. Various proposals were made for relieving the tension caused by it, but lack of space precludes any discussion of them here. All the proposals came to nothing, chiefly for two fundamental reasons—Germany's persistent determination not to cut down by one iota the naval building program announced in 1900, but rather to exploit the program to the utmost by building dreadnaughts of a size undreamt of in 1900; and, second, England's fears and suspicions of Germany's bad faith and sinister intentions, both as to an eventual naval struggle with England and as to efforts to break up England's ententes with France and Russia.

Germany's political folly in sticking to a naval policy which she ought to have realized would drive England into the enemy's camp is now evident enough. Whatever one may think of Germany's arguments that she ought to have a fleet to protect her coast, commerce, and colonies, it was a supreme blunder to antagonize the greatest sea power at the same time that she was antagonizing Russia's land power by support of Austria in the Balkans.

Downing Street's deep-rooted suspicion of Germany is evidenced by the numerous "Minutes", or official comments, which the editors have so wisely and generously printed with the diplomatic documents. "They [German officials] are none of them to be believed on their word" (p. 533). "The object lesson for us to remember is that there is little regard for truth in responsible quarters at Berlin" (p. 562). And in connection with the Haldane Mission (p. 738):

Germany wants to have an absolutely free hand in dealing with any problem of foreign policy without fear of meeting with opposition of third parties. She wants to make herself so strong that she can dictate terms to every Power. . . . She will leave no stone unturned to drive apart if possible the Powers of the Dual Alliance and England, America, and Japan. Nor has Germany any scruples of any sort whatever as to the methods to be employed for political ends. Bismarck and his successors have recognized no standard of right and wrong in questions of foreign policy, or indeed in questions of internal policy either.

These Minutes by Sir Eyre Crowe are typical. As senior clerk in the Foreign Office it fell to him to write the first long comments on dispatches as they came in. Inevitably his hostile dissection of the reports from Germany greatly influenced Sir Edward Grey and the other officials who next read them, and who generally endorsed with brief comments

Crowe's long criticisms. Crowe appears to have been accepted as an infallible authority on Germany. But unfortunately he was prone to accept baseless gossip as gospel truth. For instance, he cites in 1908 three alleged circumstances as evidence that Germany was making plans for the invasion of England. (1) "So great an authority as Moltke regarded the invasion of England as practicable. It is certain that the Great General Staff at Berlin is of the same opinion." (2) "It is only two or three years ago [actually 7 years earlier in 1901] that Baron von Edelsheim, then a captain of that Staff, published, with the authorization of his chief, a pamphlet dealing in detail with the measures to be taken for the purpose." (3) "Some 2 or 3 years ago, I think, the Emperor with his own hand made a number of blue pencil corrections or alterations in the designs of 2 new liners [of the Hamburg-American Line], then about to be built, because His Majesty maintained that the designs as submitted to him would not permit of these ships taking their allotted part in the transport of 2 divisions to England" (p. 117). The statements in regard to Moltke, the General Staff, and the Emperor are untrue, and Edelsheim was dismissed from the General Staff because he had published his pamphlet *without the approval of his chief*, General von Schlieffen, and because *its views were in contradiction with those of the General Staff*. One has heard much of the malign influence of Holstein in the Wilhelmstrasse. What of that of Crowe in Downing Street?

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Fragments of a Political Diary. By JOSEPH M. BAERNREITHER.

Edited and introduced by JOSEPH REDLICH. (New York and London: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xxxii, 322. \$5.00.)

THE great Austrian collection of papers dealing with the origins of the war, recently published, contains some twelve thousand documents dealing with the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy in the years from 1908 to 1914. This material is more extensive than that we possess on the policy of any other government. It gives a very complete view of the Austrian-Serbian problem as seen by official Vienna, and the *lacunæ* are practically negligible. And yet, books like this diary of Joseph Baernreither will continue to meet with a warm reception from students of pre-war diplomacy. As Professor Redlich points out in his interesting and appreciative biographical introduction, Baernreither was more than the average bureaucrat of the old régime. He had the official experience and the official contacts, but he avoided much of the red tape and most of the traditional ruts. He kept his mind open and insisted on seeing for himself.

The present volume is only part of the extensive diary which Baernreither kept over a long period of years, but it is probably the most important part, for it deals almost exclusively with the Southern Slav problem, which the writer correctly estimated to be one of life and death for the monarchy, and to which he devoted his untiring attention. The

notes carry the reader back to the 1890's, when Serbia was still more or less under Austrian influence and the Obrenovičs took their cue from Vienna. Even at that time Baernreither saw the dangers involved in the Austrian handling of the Bosnian administration. His entries are full of shrewd observations and opinions which touch upon the very roots of the problem. He sees clearly enough that unless the agrarian question were bravely faced and courageously dealt with, there would be no prospect of a satisfactory solution. His interest soon grew beyond the narrow confines of the Bosnian problem, however, and before long he realized that the key to the situation lay in Belgrade. During twenty years before the war he paid one visit after another to the capital and provinces of the Serbian kingdom, established contacts with the political leaders and exchanged views with prominent persons on both sides. It was only natural that during the annexation crisis of 1908 and 1909 he should have been on the inside. There is nothing startlingly new about his notes on this period, but the diary contains very interesting and illuminating sidelights on the leading characters and their policies. Even more important are the chapters that deal with Baernreither's efforts to effect a settlement of the economic difficulties between Austria and Serbia and his attempt to bring Aehrenthal and Milovanović to accept a compromise. The main facts of this episode were revealed by Baernreither himself in an article published some years ago. Evidently it was decisive in formulating his own views. In discussing the last years before the outbreak of the war he becomes more and more critical of the Viennese policy and particularly of Berchtold. His conversations with William II. and the German statesmen in March, 1913, lay bare the extraordinary tension that had resulted from the first Balkan War, and the difficulties of establishing a satisfactory reorientation of the Balkan alignment. These chapters are about as instructive as any in the volume.

It is impossible in a brief review of a book of this kind to enter upon details. Many of the finer points will be appreciated only by those who have a thorough first hand knowledge of the source materials for the period. It must be said, however, that Baernreither's general views of the Austrian handling of the Southern Slav question are indispensable as a supplement to the official views expressed in the documents. Unquestionably there is very much to be said in the way of condemnation of both Aehrenthal and Berchtold. But this does not necessarily imply complete exoneration of the Serbs and of Serbian statesmen. One constantly has the feeling, in reading this book, that Baernreither, who knew so much of the *dessous* of Viennese policy, was somewhat blinded to the shortcomings of the other side. It may, indeed, be questioned whether, even if the Austrian policy had been more conciliatory, a real and permanent solution of the Austro-Serb problem could have been found. The forces involved in the conflict were such that they could not easily be overcome. No state has ever voluntarily committed suicide. What the Serbs at bottom wanted was what Austria could not yield. The final clash might

have been postponed. With a more clever policy the Viennese government might have been able to present its case more plausibly to the world when the collision did come. But with current ideas of nationalism and territorial sovereignty it may reasonably be asked whether the ultimate solution could have been much different.

Harvard University.

WILLIAM L. LANGER.

Rapallo to Dawes, 1922-1924: the Diary of an Ambassador. By VISCOUNT D'ABERNON, P.S., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. With Historical Notes by MAURICE ALFRED GEROTHWOHL, LITT.D., Diplomatic Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1930. Pp. viii, 350. \$5.00.)

GERMANY'S financial instability is Lord D'Abernon's explanation of the protracted failure of the post-war world to reach an international adjustment. In his second excellent volume the ambassador reveals the statesman in his just and penetrating interpretation of day to day developments. Events corroborate his judgment that it is futile to attempt to establish peace by warlike measures, or to restore normal economic life by abnormal transactions. Security, reparations, peace, can be acquired only by working with facts, not by seeking vengeance and yielding to national, political hysteria.

The facts, Lord D'Abernon emphasized from the first, are to be found in a coöperative and economically productive Germany. Such a Germany is not out of the question; financial soundness is the prime requisite. The prevention of currency inflation is imperative; this, the ambassador holds, is well within the possibility of reasonable Allied effort. Believing that the collapse of the mark was due to many causes, partly derived from the absence of any considered Allied policy, and partly from German financial ineptitude ("... knowledge of currency laws is ... incredibly absent in all German circles ... the management of the Reichsbank has been deplorable"), he avoids recriminations and the exacerbation of feelings. "The important thing", he writes, August 8, 1923, "is not to apportion praise or blame, but to endeavor to ascertain the facts as they really are, and to make some reasonable forecast as to the immediate future." The assessment of "capacity to pay" is impossible, sanctions are inadequate and essentially useless. Relief does not come until a restoration of the currency is seriously undertaken. Then, and not until then, does the world begin to find adjustment possible. In his appendix Lord D'Abernon presents a detailed, scientific study of the collapse and recovery (1920-1926) of German currency.

Enlivened by gossip, never trivial but always useful, the author's narrative is replete with shrewd characterizations of celebrated contemporaries: Lloyd George with his Little Bethel mentality; Baldwin who gives one the impression of a preternaturally sagacious fawn; Von Seeckt, too intelligent to be a general; Ebert about whom one wonders if he is not mayor of some small French town near Besançon.

Many contributions to our knowledge of important circumstances, not hitherto fully disclosed, are to be found in D'Abernon's recorded conversations: General Hoffman's rôle on the Eastern Front and at Brest-Litovsk; General Nollet and the disarmament of Germany; the British seizure of the Turkish dreadnaughts; Curzon's long wrangle with Poincaré during the Chanak crisis; the reasons why Curzon was not made prime minister. With relish the ambassador recounts a joke on his own profession: "For some strange reason he (General Weygand) appears to regard me as a fellow soldier, and abuses the incapacity of diplomatists. Says there is an infallible method of breaking up a diplomatic conference. Produce maps—in five minutes the room is empty but for the interpreters, who are left with no one to interpret to."

Particularly interesting among Lord D'Abernon's numerous estimates of significant achievements are his tributes to Sir John Bradbury and Lord Curzon. "Cromer used to say that the Treasury would wreck the Empire with its narrow fiscalty. In 1920-23 a representative of the Treasury (Bradbury) has done much to keep Europe from error and disaster." At Lausanne, Curzon rendered "an immense service not only to England, but to the world. The unholy intimacy between Angora and Moscow was a menace of the gravest kind".

Amherst College.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Turkey in the World War. By AHMED EMIN, PH.D., formerly Professor of Statistics in Constantinople University, Editor of the "Vatan". [Economic and Social History of the World War, edited by James T. Shotwell, LL.D.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xviii, 310. \$3.25.)

To read this book is at once a disappointment and a satisfaction. It is a disappointment in the sense that of necessity it could picture only part of the situation. It is a satisfaction because the author reminds us of certain things about the Ottoman Empire which for Western readers need repeating. But it is a satisfaction for a more important reason. It succeeds in linking up the flowering of Turkish nationalism with its origin and growth. This is a contribution worthy of note.

The author recognizes quite frankly in his foreword that "an investigation of a general character into the various social and economic problems created by the war can not be expected to be complete in any sense. The present volume aims only at indicating the main lines taken by those problems, and the nature of the everchanging experiments that were made in the hope of coping with them." It was impossible for it to have been more. Documents and statistics were few, and it is, therefore, hardly the fault of the author that a feeling of disappointment comes over the reader when he compares his natural expectations with the incomplete material contained in the book.

With the materials which he had at hand the author has reconstructed a picture which—however incomplete—depicts clearly the effects of

military policy upon the economy of the Empire. In 1914 there was an exceptionally good harvest. Also the country was apparently on the verge of a business boom. In such a situation the government might have maintained its neutrality almost indefinitely. Even after the Empire had entered the war its scanty resources might have been carefully hoarded. Instead the government's economic policy rested on the assumption that the war would be a short one. Hence all man power and resources were needed immediately. But the marshalling of this equipment proved to be a stupendous task, and overstrained the country's administrative machinery, with the result that the effects of the mobilization and requisition orders lasted throughout the war. Their disruptive nature and the attempts made to ameliorate the chaos created by them form the theme for the bulk of the volume. The author's treatment extends only to general policies and general effects, but, within the limitation recognized above, it is a satisfactory one.

However much attention the book may attract from this point of view, even more interest will no doubt be shown in its treatment of Turkish nationalism. Even to many experts the defense of Anatolia by the Turks after the arrival of the Greeks in Smyrna in 1919 came as a surprise. Yet it might have been predicted. And here Emin Bey has something of the highest importance to say. In reality there had never been any Turkish nationalism before 1919 and 1920. The sentiments of 1876, of 1908 and 1909, and of the war years were emotions concocted from a *mélange* of ingredients—Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanianism, Pan-Turkism, and Turkish patriotism. Of nationalism there was little. Conditions were not yet ripe for its emergence. But the something which impelled the Kemalists, which carried them through to the stage of nationalists, subsequently to actuate them to create the lay Turkish Republic—this is closer to nationalism than any of the other sentiments had been. It is to the elucidation of this process of development that the finest section of the book (chapters XV. and XVI.) is devoted. It is enthusiastically recommended to all who recognize in nationalism one of the dominant elements of contemporary Western culture.

Unfortunately, in appraising the results of the policies of the Turkish government the author departs somewhat from the objective path he has hitherto followed. In speaking of the 1924 legislation which aimed at the separation of church and state, he says (p. 285): "Religious traditions were deprived of the last possibility of influencing law and education." On the following page appears the statement: "The legal and social emancipation of Turkish women became as complete as in any Western country." And on p. 294, one reads: "As soon as farming, trade, and industry began to be profitable, people began to take to them as they might to any kind of welcome and pleasant effort, and all trace vanished of the old indolent and fatalistic view of life." Great strides have no doubt been made, but these statements are surely exaggerated. With the conclusion there can be very little quarrel: "The unexpected

setting up in Turkey of a régime peace-loving, self-confident, self-reliant, and energetic, capable of seeing facts very clearly and acting according to them promptly and efficiently, unquestionably constitutes a great gain for international tranquillity . . ." (p. 297).

It is regrettable that the book does not have an index. There is a fairly complete bibliography, and in two appendixes are many valuable data on the Turkish foreign debt and information derived from the 1927 Turkish census.

Williams College.

DONALD C. BLAISDELL.

Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abyssinie, depuis les Temps les plus Reculés jusqu'à l'Avènement de Ménélick II. By J. B. COULBEAUX, Missionnaire Lazariste en Abyssinie. Tomes I., II., III. (Paris: Geuthner. 1929. Pp. xxvii, 356; 493; plates and maps.)

ACCORDING to the preface of Père Baeteman, the faithful collaborator of Père Coulbeaux, this history is the result of thirty years of study and first hand observation in Abyssinia where the author was engaged in missionary activities, and enjoyed the friendship of the picturesque Emperor Menelik II. Because of his advanced age and feebleness, Père Coulbeaux was unable to complete the revision of his manuscript before his death in 1921; this work was undertaken by Père Baeteman who has brought the history from the death of Theodore (1868), with which Père Coulbeaux's account ends, to the accession of Menelik II. at the end of the century, and has added notes referring to more recent events and to recent literature on various periods of the country's history.

As the editor himself points out, academic historians have been unfair at times to the books of Roman Catholic missionaries. They are not to be treated as a class to which special canons of higher criticism must be applied. Some are reliable and authoritative; others are unduly prejudiced or overcredulous. The present work belongs to the best of missionary labors. The author's long introduction on the geography, ethnology, and religious institutions of modern Abyssinia is proof not only of his extensive knowledge of the literature (which is cited in an adequate bibliography at the beginning of the history) but also of his powers of careful observation. The reader will discover for himself that Père Coulbeaux has his Roman Catholic prejudices, but they are not so extreme as to make him accept all orthodox reports uncritically, or reject without examination the statements of "heretics".

The writing is unpretentious, clear, and lively. Because of the colorful variety of contacts Abyssinia has had with Sabeans, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Arabs, and Europeans, an historian might be tempted to overdo the picturesqueness of the country's history. Père Coulbeaux has been sober but not dull. He deserves credit also for treating those periods about which legend has been most busy, with simplicity and restraint.

A "checking up" of his references to ancient and modern literature shows him to have been accurate. One or two statements are misleading or erroneous. The Jews do not baptise infants on the fortieth day, or at any time, for that matter (I. 63, 70); the ancient Ethiopic language (Ge'ez) is not related immediately to Aramean, but to South Semitic (I. 90); the sound *p* is not unknown in Semitic (I. 79 n. 3), although the point made in the passage where this statement occurs is well taken. The transliteration of Ethiopic and Arabic words is deplorably bad; this fault is common in French books. The most serious defect is the lack of an index.

The work commends itself not only to students of Oriental history and Christian Church history, but also to those who are interested in European intercourse with Africa and Asia, and in the foundations of modern European imperialism, not by reason of the political philosophy of the author, which is not profound, but because of the very full and often illuminating discussions of native policy and tradition.

Columbia University.

RALPH MARCUS.

Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient. Par RENÉ GROUSSET, Conservateur-Adjoint au Musée Guimet. Deux tomes. (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner. 1929. Pp. xvii, 770. 250 fr.)

THIS first successful synthesis of the history (or rather histories) of southern, central, and eastern continental Asia which has ever been compiled is at once an individual and a coöperative work. Behind and above the industrious figure of the author looms a group of French scholars, preëminent specialists in the various recondite branches of Indian, Arabic, Persian, Central Asiatic, Chinese, and Indo-Chinese studies: their aid has alone made possible the heroic task of discovering and exploiting the innumerable but essential monographs scattered through a host of books and special journals of a dozen countries, and in turn derived from documents in nearly all the languages of Asia. It would be unfair, however, to minimize the part of M. Grousset in what remains his work. Unlike his earlier *Histoire de l'Asie* (3 vols., Paris, 1922), it conforms to the most exacting standards of scholarship. Categorical assertion and sweeping generalization have given place to cautious statement and to scrupulously balanced presentation of the frequently divergent conclusions of contemporary scholars. Not satisfied with fringing every page with footnotes containing precise and extensive reference, and often twice the material of the text itself, he has added a monumental bibliography, the most comprehensive yet compiled. Most valuable is its inclusion of periodical articles in which have appeared many of the most significant contributions to the study of Asiatic countries, and which are too frequently ignored by bibliographers. A feature especially worthy of emulation is the citation of important reviews in connection with the books to which they refer.

The subjects treated in this history are only imperfectly suggested by its title; but it is not in fact easy to devise one at once compact and accurate. Japan and Korea are as definitely excluded from its scope as are Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Unlike most general histories of Asiatic countries too, it stops just where so many really begin, with the opening of the era of western interference, Mohammedan and Christian. Thanks to these limitations and to concise economy of style, the treatment of the histories of India, Central Asia, China, and Indo-China is much more full than would be surmised from the 621 pages into which they are compressed.

The opening chapter is devoted to India down to the Mohammedan conquest (1194 for the Ganges basin, 1565 for the Deccan). Inasmuch as the contacts of India with central and eastern Asia were comparatively few after this epoch, omission to mention the Mogul empire and advent of Europeans permits a greater degree of unity in these volumes than would have been otherwise possible. The historical development of the great systems of Indian thought, Brahman (Vedic), Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu is clearly presented in intimate relation to the original literary sources upon which their study is based. The chapter closes with a succinct account of the Empire of Çrivijaya, and the political and artistic developments in Java. The remainder of the first volume is devoted to the history of China down to the Mongol conquest. After an admirably lucid exposition of the origins and early philosophical activity of the Chinese, this portion of the work is dominated by two of the principal preoccupations of western writers on China: Buddhism and art. It is to be regretted that western language materials ready to hand, and to which the author actually refers, have not been drawn upon for more adequate treatment of political and social evolution in the formative pre-Christian era. For the following millenium such materials do not as yet exist.

The Mongol empire, its creation, expansion, and prosperity in China are admirably presented in the first portion of the second volume. Thereafter follows a sketchy chapter ostensibly on China of the Ming and Manchus but actually devoted in major part to the complex vicissitudes of Tibet and the bellicose Mongolian tribes, and the policy of the imperial court towards these and other neighbors. M. Grousset wisely terminates his treatment of China with the Chien Lung reign, leaving to others the trite and sordid story of collapse of the Manchu dynasty. The fifth and last chapter of the book reviews in orderly succession the histories of the states of Indo-China: Burma (Pegu, Pagan, Ava), Siam, Cambodia, Chiampa, and Annam. It is by far the best comprehensive history of the region which has ever been prepared.

One of the most satisfactory features of the book is the series of six large and clear historical maps. Another is the eighty-five page index to the proper names cited in sometimes over-generous profusion in the text. A third is the constant utilization of the latest materials available: archæological finds of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro, of Bâmiyân and

Dukhtar-i Noshirwân, of Honan and Gansu, of Tonkin and Angkor; books and articles published in 1926 (for the bibliography in 1927, and by means of addenda sheets in 1928). The portion of the book which is conspicuously inadequate is the history of China other than its philosophy, art, and early foreign contacts. Before this deficiency can be satisfactorily remedied, however, we must await preparation of those special studies which can alone provide a firm basis for the completion of such a manual. Our present ignorance of the domestic history of China is sadly encyclopedic. Asia as a whole is still to the "well-educated" American a *terra incognita*. The present book perhaps adds little to the sum of human knowledge, but it is admirably fitted to add greatly to the knowledge of almost any scholar.

Newtonville, Massachusetts.

CHARLES S. GARDNER.

L'Inde Moderne, le Problème Social et Politique. Par ANDRÉ PHILIP, Professeur Agrégé à la Faculté de Droit de Lyon. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. 259. 18 fr.)

India's Political Crisis. By WILLIAM I. HULL, PH.D., F.R.HIST.S., Professor of International Relations in Swarthmore College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, n.s. no. 7.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1930. Pp. xvii, 190. \$2.00.)

M. PHILIP's book is divided into three parts: *l'Inde Agricole*, *l'Inde Industrielle*, and *l'Inde Politique*. The third is the smallest section; it is an excellent summary, but less original and less important than the other two, which constitute, in the reviewer's opinion, the best brief account in any language of economic and industrial conditions in India to-day. The author has crowded into very small compass an amazing amount of information, largely based on personal investigations on the spot, judiciously arranged, intelligently interpreted, and presented with a masterly lucidity worthy of the best traditions of French scholarship. Of many striking passages I can refer to only one, the brilliant critique of Mr. Gandhi's industrial program on pages 153 ff. I consider it the sanest and most illuminating treatment of this interesting subject which I ever read. The book should be translated into English. But the translator should be some one familiar with the subject, who could correct the superficial errors which are unfortunately somewhat numerous. Four occur on the two pages 3 and 4: Ajmer is not an Indian state but a British territory; it is not "probable", hardly even possible, that the prehistoric Aryans came from Tibet; the ten (rather, over eleven) million Buddhists of India (chiefly in Burma) do not include those of Ceylon, which is not part of India; the Parsees number only just over 100,000 instead of 1,300,000. Other examples: Dr. Ansari was not the first Moslem to be elected president of the congress (p. 238); Gandhi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, not five (p. 226); many Indian and some English names

are misspelled. Such slips are trivial and do not affect the book's conclusions, but are regrettable as giving a handle to hostile critics. An index is badly needed. The bibliography for the first two parts is good, but that for the political chapter is so brief as to be practically useless; yet it includes Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, although, I am glad to say, the author gives no other evidence of having used that book.

Mr. Hull's book is, as the title indicates, much more limited in scope. It is a somewhat detailed account of the All Parties Convention in Calcutta in December, 1928, and of the Calcutta session of the National Congress in the same month, with a brief historical introduction, and a preface giving a "summary and balancing of the various plans and their party sponsors". The author was present in Calcutta during these sessions; the decisions reached there led directly to the present situation in India, so that Mr. Hull's record is a useful one. It is not his fault that events have moved so fast since then that it has now largely only an "historic" interest, owing to important changes in the attitudes of various individuals and parties concerned. Mr. Hull has mastered the spelling of the unfamiliar Indian names better than M. Philip, but it is a bit disturbing to find the name of the Moslem leader Mohammed Ali spelled in no less than five different ways (all or most of them, to be sure, are used in India): Mohammed, Mohamed, Mahomed, Muhammad, and Muhamad. The reported demand for a "separation of Orissa and Utkal" (p. 145, and again p. 170) is an absurdity, since Orissa and Utkal are synonyms; what is meant is "separation of Orissa (= Utkal) from Bihar". There is an index.

Both M. Philip and Mr. Hull seem to agree that the attitude of stubborn and virtually uncompromising resistance to the demands of Indian nationalism, which characterizes British politicians of all parties, can not be maintained much longer. Their opinion is the more important because they wrote before the events of 1930, in which the Indian people have exhibited a degree of solidarity and determination which has astonished their warmest foreign advocates, and perhaps some of their own leaders.

Yale University.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

The Chinese Revolution: a Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power. By ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE, Professor of Government, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 401. \$4.00.)

As the result of seven months spent in the Far East, supplemented by extensive and judicious reading and by his ripe scholarship in the field of government, Professor Holcombe has produced, in the opinion of the reviewer, the most competent study that has yet appeared of recent developments and present conditions in China. The author's original investigation was undertaken "for the purpose of estimating the influence of the Chinese Revolution upon international relations in the Far East". In his completed work, however, he has relegated this theme to a brief

epilogue and has focussed attention upon China's efforts to evolve a satisfactory substitute for the ancient "Scholastic Empire", which crumbled under the nineteenth century impact of the West and disappeared with the fall of the Manchus.

After an analysis of this earlier system of social organization and after an examination of the factors which wrought its downfall, Mr. Holcombe reviews the experiments which have followed in its wake: the several attempts at military despotism, the parliamentary republic borrowed from the West, and the Soviet republic patterned after the Russian model. The failure of these successive attempts to solve China's political problem, like the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, is attributed to one *fundamental fact*. All failed to fulfill the three demands which the Chinese people make upon any government which aspires to power: (1) that the country be governed by moral agency rather than by physical force, (2) that the administration be in the hands of the wisest and ablest men of the nation, and (3) that the government insure the welfare and security of the people as a whole.

An interpretation of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary theories, based upon a thorough study of such of Dr. Sun's writings as have been translated into European languages, constitutes an extensive and especially valuable feature of the book. Recognizing the fact that many parts of these writings are patriotic propaganda not unlike the effusions of an American political campaign, Mr. Holcombe has endeavored to separate the wheat from the chaff. On the basis of the sifted material, Sun Yat-sen stands forth as a political thinker of the first rank, worthy of being rated with the great political theorists of the West and, at the same time, in essential harmony with the ancient social philosophy of China.

In his discussion of the present Nanking government, with its Five Power constitution and its party dictatorship, Mr. Holcombe, although he wisely avoids prophecy, is plainly inclined to optimism. In his opinion this government possesses reality "because it is based upon a form of dictatorship with which the Chinese people are familiar and is operated by methods which they can understand". In place of unfamiliar Western institutions of government, the Kuomintang has "reestablished ancient Chinese institutions in modern form". The homage paid to the memory of Sun Yat-sen provides the people of China with "an acceptable substitute for the Son of Heaven who used to sit upon the Dragon Throne", while the development of a body of Western trained officials provides the country with a new Mandarinate "more capable than the classical scholars of the *ancien régime* of creating a government equal to the opportunities and responsibilities of the modern state".

Many will take exception to Mr. Holcombe's estimate of Sun Yat-sen. The reviewer, for one, is inclined to question the permanent importance of Dr. Sun's apotheosis, and the evaluation of the "new mandarinat" of returned students may prove to be unduly optimistic; but even the unforeseen collapse of the Nanking government before the

forces of its enemies, if that should occur, would not detract from the sound merits of the book as a study in the fundamentals of the Chinese problem.

Simmons College.

G. NYE STEIGER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Unknown Washington: Biographic Origins of the Republic. By JOHN CORBIN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. x, 454. \$4.00.)

WITH the approach of the Washington bicentenary we may expect a flock of biographies and various treatises.* This volume is a harbinger of their coming; but its purpose is to do much more than acclaim Washington's greatness. It is not exactly a biography, and indeed it is not exactly anything else; it defies classification. Though not a biography it does speak of many of Washington's interests and achievements. But the author's main aim is not only to tear aside the veil which has obscured the lineaments of Washington, but also to present his fundamental political principles. We may question whether Mr. Corbin has been more successful than his predecessors. The result of the study may have some effect in correcting a tendency to represent Washington as playing second fiddle to more brilliant and capable people. That the author has occasionally overworked his evidence is probably a fair criticism.

The ideas and purposes of other statesmen are discussed at some length; and this fact helps us to interpret the subtitle of the volume. The discussion of John Adams's political philosophy is one of the best portions of the book, although it adds little if anything to Walsh's fairly exhaustive treatment.

The volume is a product of a good deal of hard work. The author has plowed, at times fairly deeply, into the subsoil, and has displayed a great reluctance to follow the furrows made by previous workers. But the result of these conscientious labors is not likely to be entirely satisfying to the reader. The reviewer, after a good many hours of reading and examining its pages, put down the volume with a feeling of weariness and defeat. Another more astute reader may extort its secrets and force it to exude its juices. Why should one be compelled to call his strongest muscles into play? Even clarity of style is often absent, and this absence is the more distressing because the author can write clearly if he will.

Whom will the book serve? As already said, the gentle reader is likely to find great difficulties. Persons already familiar with the period covered can not wisely totally disregard the book. If one is tempted to challenge statement after statement, the technical student need not worry about that. On the whole the volume is the work of patient—or should I say impatient?—research. I question my own words because at times the pages seem to exhale the fragrance of impatience; and this is especially the case where the author finds or thinks he finds an erroneous

opinion or assertion in the work of an "historian". His many references to the failings of his predecessors do not help him much; on the other hand they appear to cloud his narrative; and when all is said, a history and a threnody are two differing types of imaginative literature.

The underlying or uppermost purpose of the writer, beside the purpose of bringing Washington into the light, appears to be correctly given in the publisher's statement. Mr. Corbin has abandoned his former illusions concerning democracy and its virtues. He must go back to the Fathers and discover their doctrines, their disbelief in the wisdom of the populace, their desire for a balanced, wise, effective and nevertheless harmless government. From the first chapter, *The Air-hole in History*, we find that the ship of state, now naturally an airplane, is having a rough time of it: "There are pockets in the air—air holes. Without warning the bottom drops out. . . . Even we Americans, secure and great as never before, have become a prey to a deeply abiding distrust of our democracy." Strangely enough the author keeps his eye fastened upon the national government and the national Constitution and has not brought within his horizon the development of the state constitutions, a development of immense consequence which began well over a hundred years ago.

The chapters on the Constitutional Convention of 1787 show considerable study; but a reader not already fairly familiar with the documents can follow the author only with difficulty. We should naturally expect to find a clear statement of Washington's influence and his actual contribution to the convention's work. And yet, for a careful study of that matter we must still turn to Farrand's *George Washington in the Federal Convention*, an article which was published over thirty years ago. Mr. Corbin's chapter, *The Father of the Constitution?*, indicates a problem. It presents a fair question; but does he bring out the cardinal fact that the Constitution as framed was the product of continuous debate and ceaseless interchange of opinion? He seems on the whole not to give Madison proper credit, spends, it seems to me, disproportionate amount of time on Hamilton, and does not help us much, if any, by an examination of Pinckney's "plan"—the one sent Adams in 1818, as well as the outline of the original. That the really great and serious tasks of the convention are clearly brought to view is at least questionable.

The University of Chicago.

A. C. McLAUGHLIN.

British Opinion and the American Revolution. By DORA MAE CLARK, PH.D., Professor of American History and Political Science, Wilson College. [Yale Historical Publications XX.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. viii, 308. \$3.00.)

OPINION is one of the most perplexing of imponderables. The author of this volume has cleverly analyzed the problem, and shown that without analysis conclusions worth while are not available. The various classes of society are taken up for consideration, each as a rule being discussed in

a separate chapter. This classification, however, leaves one at the end, where he might have expected to find himself—unable to say in a word what British opinion was, because there were differing and changing opinions even among members of a single class. The following chapter headings indicate the mode of treatment: Interests, Activities, and Opinions of the Mercantile Classes; Opinions and Prejudices of the Country Gentlemen; Activities and Views of the Radicals; Crown and Administrative Officials. The conclusions, such as they are, can best be stated in the author's own words: "Theories about colonial control, the proper relationship between America and the mother country, intrigued philosophers; but abstract theory had little to do with the actual course of events between 1765 and 1783. Merchants, country gentlemen, and crown officials hoped to gain something from the colonies; and their ideas about the Stamp Act, or the Boston Port Bill, or granting independence to America, were based respectively upon the probable effect of those measures on commerce, the price of land, and the power of the state." Motives were not, it appears, entirely economic, for there were imperialists, "to whom the supremacy of parliament over the colonies was an end in itself". The rise of political thinking in Britain, as a household industry, has been connected with the French Revolution; but surely it can be associated with the American; even imperialism is a form of political thinking and I am persuaded to believe that the spirit of imperialism reached far outside official circles, for I remember, if I do not quote with accuracy, Franklin's complaint that every footman seemed to crowd his way onto the throne and speak about "our subjects in America". The chapter on the Radicals has special interest, the author asserting that it would be difficult to measure the debt of that group to America or *vice versa*. Despite emphasis, and perhaps not undue emphasis, on economic influences, we may be able to gather from the volume that some men have a liking for liberty as well as a distaste for taxes. As far as style and orderly arrangement are concerned, the author's work is admirable, as indeed it appears to be in other respects. A few incidental criticisms can properly be omitted from this evaluation.

A. C. McL.

The Treaty Veto of the American Senate. By DENNA FRANK FLEMING, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science in Vanderbilt University. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930. Pp. ix, 325. \$3.00.)

OF the twelve chapters which make up this monograph, eleven are concerned incidentally with the origin and more specifically with the historical working of the clause in the Constitution (Art. II., sec. 2, par. 2) which gives to the President power to make treaties and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to exchange ratifications "provided two thirds of the Senators present concur". The proviso supplies the method for a veto which, over a period of a hundred and forty years for upwards of

thirty times, the Senate has used occasionally to defeat Presidential requests for concurrence. Four of the eleven chapters bring the story down to the Spanish-American War; the remaining seven which form the main portion of the narrative are devoted chiefly to the presentation of outstanding incidents of diplomacy which have affected our foreign policy since that time, in particular to arbitration treaties, to the issues aroused by the Treaty of Versailles, to the efforts of Presidents Harding and Coolidge to obtain the Senate's consent to our joining the World Court, and to the Briand-Kellogg Pact. These eleven historical chapters, necessarily rambling because of the long and complicated field of inquiry, are of uneven merit: chapter IV., *Treaties rejected by the Senate*, and chapter VII., *The Struggle over the League*, are poor. The final chapter is a criticism drawn from earlier considerations of the facts expressive of the author's moderate convictions and conclusions as primarily a student of political science.

The chief value of Professor Fleming's book is that it opens to readers a subject which has been disturbing thoughtful men for many years. The author is no advocate of any single solution of difficulties; he merely suggests two possible solutions: (1) transfer of the veto power over treaties to the House of Representatives, or (2) the granting to the Senate of a majority instead of a two-thirds vote. Inclined to see in educated public opinion of the day a wider and increasing interest in the problems and responsibilities relating to foreign affairs, he characterizes this as the "spirit of orderly progress". The United States has become a world power. To discover sound modes of institutional adjustment to the new and changing issues arising from that fact is our problem. The Senate embodies within itself strong traditions which it will yield in no ready fashion. Notwithstanding the superficial and often violent aspects of its oratory, there are shrewd observers who believe that its leaders still have an underlying regard for law and respect for the Constitution. Take, for example, the interminable debates over the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles (1918-1920): there are to-day, as there were then, sound differences of opinion among intelligent men regarding the issues then aroused; it would have been more significant to examine and to analyze these from the standpoints of the dozen or fifteen leaders, both friends and enemies of the issues, who were capable of thinking seriously than to have cluttered up pages—as Professor Fleming does—with the random musings of so many uninformed and prejudiced speakers, most of whom had taken no pains to study the text of the treaty, its meaning and implications. In touching upon more recent qualifications of Senators, the author might wisely have given a moment's thought to changes wrought since 1913 by the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution. That amendment accounts in part for some of the younger men now in the Senate. Has it tended to reduce the dignity of that body? No doubt the question is difficult to answer even after thorough investigation. However, in bringing this and many other timely problems into view, the

book will have its uses. Proof reading has been careless. Dates are occasionally incorrect and confusing (pp. 7, 19, 43, 69, 72, 127, 218). Titles are sometimes misquoted and proper names misspelled. Caleb Cushing was not "twice" (p. 56) attorney general. Rejection of the extradition treaty with Belgium (Feb. 11, 1853) was not the "earliest case of this kind" (p. 67). President Wilson on his western trip (1919) delivered thirty-seven, not "forty-four" (p. 151) speeches, and was taken ill at Pueblo, Colorado. A work that purports to be one of careful research should not depend here and there on the commonplaces of mere textbooks.

Washington, D. C.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

New Letters and Papers of Lincoln. Compiled by PAUL M. ANGLE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. Pp. x, 387. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of Lincoln owe a great and diversified debt to Mr. Angle whose efforts have contributed so largely to the successful existence of the Abraham Lincoln Association. In this volume Mr. Angle proposes to complete the authentic Lincoln autographs by gathering into print all those that are not included in the Gettysburg Edition of his *Writings*, in Tracy's *Uncollected Letters*, or in the *Lincoln Letters at Brown University*, omitting only identical telegrams, the doubles of which are to be found in those collections. These four collections now give us the whole known body of the literary remains of Lincoln.

Mr. Angle makes two admirable departures from certain bad habits of some recent American editors. He tells where the reprinted matter is to be found, and in the case of manuscripts, where they are now located. He also includes all matter that has been discovered irrespective whether he sees any value in it or not. Furthermore, he introduces each item with a brief intimation of its biographical and political perspective. Not the least valuable portions of the book are certain newspaper reports of speeches that are now reprinted for the first time. One of these adds another exhibit to the scanty record of Lincoln's political humor. It is an attack on Douglas, Pierce, and Democrats generally in 1852, in quite the same vein of unconscious Dickensism that characterized his well-known speech in Congress ridiculing the Democratic predicament of 1848. An interesting historical document is a draft of a bill for compensated emancipation in Delaware. Lincoln made two drafts of this hypothetical bill. One was printed by Nicolay and Hay. This other has recently been discovered in that great mine, but partially explored, the Henry E. Huntington Library. The bulk of the volume consists of brief notes and memoranda.

In Mr. Angle's view "many of these documents throw fresh light on the personality of the writer". On this point there is room for the most considerate difference of opinion. Many investigators seem to feel that the accumulation of fresh data is significant in and of itself. But may

not some of us be allowed to insist that marginalia never cease to be marginalia, and that the significant things in biography are not marginal. After all what we are deeply concerned about in a great man is what made him great, or how we may explain his lapses from greatness. A good many people, to-day, will accept the idea that the great Lincoln did not appear until 1854. The reviewer can not find anything in this volume to refute that contention; nor does he get any new light on the singularities of Lincoln's frame of mind between election and inauguration, especially as revealed in the speeches of the journey east; none of his problems as President, beginning with Sumter, are reilluminated by these latest discoveries. Of course, this does not mean that they are negligible. If ever there is an adequate edition of Lincoln's Writings, all these should be included for the reasons so ably stated by Mr. Angle in his preface.

N. W. S.

The Critical Year: a Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction.

By HOWARD K. BEALE, Assistant Professor of History in Bowdoin College. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1930. Pp. ix, 454. \$3.75.)

THE purpose of Professor Beale's book is to describe in some detail the critical election of 1866 in its several political, social, and economic aspects. He has accomplished his purpose. The book is a welcome addition to recent studies in the field of Reconstruction. It is well documented, giving evidence of careful study of the manuscript resources of the period, as well as newspapers, government publications, biographical studies, and the large mass of special and monographic material. The scholarship is sound, the temper scientific, and the style, in the main, attractive. The author is sympathetic with Johnson without rating him as high as Bowers, Winston, and other recent writers. He reaches much the same conclusions about a cabinet officer named Stanton, a senator named Sumner and a House leader named Stevens, as those reached by other recent investigators, although he has stated his conclusions more temperately.

Especially features of Professor Beale's treatment are his description of the economic factors in the politics of the critical year of Reconstruction; his account of the manipulation of the machinery of politics in the hands of the master radicals; and his emphasis on the fact that the outcome was determined less by the truth and more by what the people of the North erroneously supposed the truth to be.

The account of the economic foundations of Reconstruction is excellent with the possible exception of so strong a statement as that on page 225: "If Southern economic interests had coincided with those of the rising industrial groups of the North, there would have been no Radical reconstruction." The author convincingly points out the handicap under which Johnson labored because "He was the nominal head of a party of which he was not a member, and to whose machinery his enemies held the

keys. . . . In a contest of factions for supremacy in the Republican Party, Johnson did not have even a sporting chance" (pp. 122-123). Although probably a majority of Northern Republicans sympathized with Johnson's conservative policies in relation to Reconstruction, they found themselves manouevered slowly but irrevocably toward the radical wing of their party. The radical wing had powerful economic reasons for opposing the quick return of the South to participation in Congress; it had strong newspaper support; it was led with shrewdness; but unhappily for Johnson his policy commended itself most thoroughly to the South and to Northern Democrats and Copperheads. To support Johnson, therefore, seemed to mean and did mean making political associates of the recent enemy, "rebels", "traitors", and "assistant rebels". Or as Ben Wade put it to Charles Sumner, "To admit the States on Mr. Johnson's plan, is voluntarily, with our eyes open, to surrender our political rights into the hands and keeping of those traitors we have just conquered. . . . It is nothing less than political suicide" (p. 314).

Professor Beale is quite right in placing emphasis on the power of rumor and misinformation in political campaigns. Every scholar at the present day knows that Johnson was far from being a confirmed sot and was by no means lacking in solid knowledge and judgment; nevertheless the politics of the Reconstruction period were largely affected by the belief that he was both a sot and an ignoramous. It is a pleasure for the modern historian to explode such fallacies and portray the truth—but the course of history is determined quite as much by ignorance as by fact. It is not necessary, of course, to go as far back as the election of 1866 to find sad examples.

The climax of the volume is chapter XI., The Campaign. Here the author depicts in telling and entertaining style the cross-currents of prejudice, partisanship, fear, hatred, and personality which made the election so little a "solemn referendum". He contrasts effectively the political wisdom of the radicals with the too frequent ineptitude of the conservative forces. It nevertheless appears, in the following chapter on the results of the election, that Johnson was beaten only by a small margin, and that almost everywhere the conservatives made the mistake of putting up Democratic or Copperhead candidates. "In no Northern state did Johnson men have the means of expressing their preference. The election did not decide that men favored the Radical rather than the Conservative plan of reconstruction, but that they disliked Copperheads more than Radicals" (p. 397).

After all the discussion of what Johnson might have done which would have changed the verdict; after allowance is made for his defects of personality, and for the errors of tactics on the part of the South: after Stevens, Sumner, and the rest have all received their merited condemnation—this reviewer fears that Reconstruction was carried out much as might have been expected—human beings still being merely human. For thirty years the people of the North had wrangled with the people of the

Morison: The Development of Harvard University 173

South over a series of social, political, and economic questions with ever increasing animosity; the animosity finally led to four years of civil conflict during which tens of thousands of men on both sides were killed, and as the result of which grief and bitterness made their way into every city and village in the land. The winners in the conflict were swayed, after their victory, by the feelings of hatred and revenge, and by the ignorance and narrowness that generally beset nations which have just passed through a war. Reconstruction is an interesting study—but perhaps it does not require explanation; if it had not been carried out about as it was, it would require explaining indeed.

Dartmouth College.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929. Edited by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1930. Pp. xc, 660. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is at once the story and the type of a modern university, for it is the product of many hands and minds. It is, moreover, the type of a modern product—the skyscraper, in which, after the inner structure of steel has been reared, it is possible to begin the walls high above ground and to build downwards. The structure of which it constitutes the upper stories is the *Tercentennial History of Harvard University*, which Professor Morison undertook several years ago to produce in time for the three hundredth anniversary of Harvard, in 1936. He is himself now at work, as the preface announces, on a volume that is to deal with the first century in the history of the college, to be followed by another, carrying the record to the beginning of President Eliot's administration in 1869, and quite possibly by a third concerning itself with the undergraduate life since 1869 and with the tercentennial celebration in 1936. Whether numbered eventually III. or IV. the volume now first presented to the public will crown the more strictly academic narrative.

The *hysteron proteron* method adopted by Professor Morison will obviously justify itself. In the thirty-eight chapters that follow an historical introduction of sixty-five pages, written in part by the editor but containing the extraordinarily prophetic Inaugural Addresses of Presidents Eliot and Lowell, forty-five officers of the university, many of them veterans in its service, describe the work of the departments and branches of the institution with which severally they have been associated, and the personal contributions and characteristics of many teachers and other officers past and present. To defer the assemblage of these chapters until the earlier volumes should be completed would obviously have been to run serious risks of losing something for which no substitute could be found. The result of Professor Morison's editorial method is that the largest possible portion of his academic history has been written by those who have made it.

Students of history will naturally turn first to the chapter on History, 1838-1929, written by Professors Ephraim Emerton and S. E. Morison. It carries one back to the time of Sparks, Torrey, and Gurney, when "the study of history was rather an elegant accomplishment than a serious pursuit leading to a professional career". The appointment of Henry Adams in 1870 as Assistant Professor of History marked the beginning of a new era, and though he himself defined his seven years of teaching then begun as "failure", the impetus which his method and personality gave to instruction in history at Harvard can now be seen in its true light. "Indeed", as Professor Emerton writes, "it may be said that apart from Torrey and Gurney, the Department of History was conducted for many years after Adams's departure by his pupils. Channing, one of that group of ardent youngsters who caught their enthusiasm from Adams, retired from active teaching only in 1929."

From Channing, Emerton, and Hart, subject to the immediate influence of Adams, something of the spirit that actuated him has been transmitted through Coolidge, Haskins, Turner, and others, to such younger men as Merriman, Schlesinger, and Morison himself: the succession can not be given in anything like its entirety. It is made up of men whose names convey a definite significance. In characterizing them and their work, in aspects both individual and collective, the authors of the chapter on History have contributed a notable chapter to the history of this subject as related to American education in general.

So it is with other chapters in the volume at hand. Out of them all the student of history will read with a special interest Mr. William C. Lane's chapter on The Harvard College Library, 1877-1928, if only for the vital contributions of two historians, Justin Winsor and A. C. Coolidge, to the development of the foremost university library in the Western world. In Professor Grandgent's chapter on The Modern Languages, 1869-1929, and in the treatment of Philosophy, 1870-1929, by Professors George Herbert Palmer and Ralph Barton Perry, with its special sections relating to James Royce, Santayana, Münsterberg, and—the one subject treated by the junior collaborator—Palmer, there is much of general academic interest. And—again especially for students of history—Professor Hart's chapter on Government, 1874-1929, and Professor Taussig's on Economics, 1871-1929 will be found illuminating.

In the nature of the case, the book bears a certain resemblance to the sundial, which records only the sunny hours. Yet the fact remains that the hours of the Eliot and Lowell administrations at Harvard have enjoyed, in the matter of academic weather, a considerable excess of "fair and warmer" over the opposite conditions. And if it must be noted that members of well-conducted families are not given to discussing each other unsympathetically in public, it is no less true that the honestly favorable things to be said about Harvard during the past sixty years bulk large enough to fill so substantial a volume as this distinguished addition to the chronicles of the American university.

The Library of Congress.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

Public Relations of the Commission for Relief in Belgium: Documents. By GEORGE I. GAY, Commission for Relief in Belgium, with the collaboration of H. H. FISHER, Stanford University. Two volumes. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1929. Pp. xvii, 606; xiii, 539. \$10.00.)

IN the Hoover War Library of Stanford University are stored the bulky archives of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. From this mass of material Mr. Gay has segregated and arranged in convenient form the documents which compose the record of how and why the Commission was created and maintained in the very heart of the World War area; how this unique organization was protected and supported by the governments on both sides of the conflict and neutral countries as well; how it carried on a huge traffic across hostile frontiers; how its cargo ships traversed the seven seas under its own flag and how it came to enjoy immunities and exercise powers which, in retrospect, seem quite incredible.

It is not extravagant to say that nothing like the Commission ever was known before. It was one of war's unforeseen and unpremeditated by-products. Germany found herself unable or unwilling to feed the Belgian people but could not allow them to starve, partly because that would stir world condemnation and partly because they feared starvation would incite uprisings requiring the continued presence of German troops needed elsewhere. The Allies would have liked to see Germany compelled to feed Belgium, but finding she would not do so felt impelled to accept the burden since it was of importance to them that the Belgians should not lose their morale but should stubbornly maintain their passive resistance to the enemy. As the war was just at that time in the period when all combatants were intensively cultivating the spirit of hate, the problem might have proved insurmountable had it not been for Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, and his friend Herbert Hoover, a quiet American engineer living in London at that time. These men, representatives of a neutral country, were free to consider the humanitarian aspects of the situation and as they commanded the confidence of both sides of the conflict, the task of setting up and directing relief was entrusted to them.

But we must go back a little way to get our chronology right. In their anxiety to be rid of the feeding problem, the German military authorities allowed two leading Belgian citizens, Émile Francqui and Baron Lambert, to visit London to solicit help to save the population from starvation. These men called on Mr. Page and found a sympathetic response. Mr. Page called on Mr. Hoover and asked him to organize a relief project for Belgium. Hoover, a man of world wide mining activities, laid aside all personal interests, accepted the relief task, called a group of personal friends together, and formed a committee—the Commission for Relief in Belgium—within two years to be known familiarly the world over as “C.R.B.” To insure neutrality in conducting this delicate international enterprise, Great Britain conditioned her assent to

it upon the making of all shipments of relief supplies in the name of the American Ambassador in London, Mr. Page, and consigning them to the American Minister in Belgium, Brand Whitlock.

From this nucleus of organization grew the greatest welfare agency the world has seen. It became quickly apparent that private gifts would be wholly inadequate to finance the Commission. Its expansion was rapid and its operations soon became enormous. Around 7,000,000 people in Belgium, to be increased a little later by 3,000,000 in that part of France occupied by the Germans, had to be fed. It is not the function of this review to discuss details of organization or operation, but in order to convey some idea of the magnitude of the business the following facts are lifted from the official documents and set down here without much regard to their rightful place in this inspiring story of accomplishment:

Imports and Costs of Relief Supplies, November, 1914–August, 1919

	<i>Metric Tons</i>	<i>Cost</i>
First Year	983,808	\$ 68,924,221.33
Second Year	1,300,322	116,055,602.14
Third Year	724,175	115,297,779.88
Fourth Year	1,091,178	244,781,218.88
Fifth Year	1,074,948	261,150,491.22
Total	5,174,431	\$806,209,313.45

Of the vast sum required for the purchase of supplies and their transportation, \$32,000,000 were given as charity by individuals and governments, the remainder was in the form of loans to Belgium by the British, French, and American governments. In assuming this indebtedness, Belgium expected it to be repaid to her as part of Germany's reparations. In the conduct of its operations, C.R.B. purchased food stuffs in all parts of the world and transported them in seventy ships which it chartered for the purpose. It was authorized by both Allies and Central Powers to fly a special flag of its own—a white flag bearing in red the words "Commission for Relief in Belgium"—a flag which protected it from attack by all belligerents of whatever nation. As the relief shipments could not safely be landed at Belgian ports because their harbors were mined, Rotterdam became the destination of an unending procession of food laden ships. Here their cargoes were transferred to barges, five hundred of them, and these clumsy, slow-moving vessels threaded Belgium's remarkable canal system and landed their precious burdens at designated centers of distribution. Outside Belgium, some two hundred Americans, all volunteers, carried on the work of purchase, transportation, and administration and, in the actual warehousing and distribution of relief supplies in Belgium, around 100,000 persons were engaged under American executives.

Not the least amazing item of all this gigantic enterprise is the fact that the cost for "overhead" was less than three-eighths of one per cent. of the total expenditures.

These volumes contain a vast body of raw material ready for the future historian who may wish to write a rounded and balanced story of this great adventure in human welfare. The elements necessary to provide thrills and romance are here in abundance. If the history is not written, a great opportunity will have been lost. But the material, just as it has been arranged by Mr. Gay, constitutes a record of action and accomplishment on a grand scale, which must stir the imagination of every reader.

Perhaps no better words can be found with which to close this brief comment than the following quotation from a memorandum prepared by Mr. Hoover for President Wilson at about the time of the armistice:

It may not be amiss to mention that the population, suddenly and utterly crushed by the horrors of invasion, betrayed of their independence, treated with terrible harshness by the German Army, faced with starvation, had lost all courage, morale and hope. Through the assurance of physical supplies, but more through the summons to organize to their own salvation, they regained courage, their national spirit revived, and they have maintained a vivid and damaging opposition to the Germans throughout these long four years. This healing of a nation's soul has been accomplished by the devotion of the Belgian and French men and women who have made and carried on for four years, the relief in a spirit of care and tenderness to their countrymen and have made the whole effort a possibility.

ERNEST P. BICKNELL.

The American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

The Fur Trade in Canada: an Introduction to Canadian Economic History. By HAROLD A. INNIS, Associate Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. With a preface by R. M. MACIVER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. 444. \$5.00.)

THREE years ago Dr. Innis published *The Fur Trade of Canada*. That book with the present volume give, as Professor MacIver says in his general preface, "a conspectus of the industry, showing against the historical background the social and economic significance of the fur trade, the role which it has played and continues to play in the general life of the country".

The fact—not generally understood—that the fur trade not only has played but continues to play a part in the general life of Canada, is brought out very clearly in Dr. Innis's present work. The fur trade is looked upon by most people as something that belongs quite definitely to the past. One knows, of course, that furs are still trapped and brought to a market, but one regards the trade of to-day as nothing more than an insignificant survival of what was once a major industry. One does not realize that the roots of the fur trade became so deeply buried in the soil of Canada that even now it remains a vital force that must be reckoned

with. Indeed, after reading Dr. Innis's book, it is a little difficult to see any channels of Canadian life that have not been penetrated by these far-spreading roots. Taking us back to the days of New France, he shows how the fur trade developed into large centralized organizations; how similar organizations marked the history of the British period; how these large centralized organizations involved, in the days of New France, competition with the English colonies in the south and the Hudson's Bay Company in the north, and this again made necessary a military policy involving Indian alliances, expenditure on strategic posts, expensive campaigns, and constant and direct drains on the economic life of New France and old France; how as a result of these developments control of political activities in New France was centralized and the paternalism of old France was strengthened by the fur trade; and how this centralized control extended not only into the government but also into the Church, the seigniorial system and other institutions. How the fur trade became a factor in the downfall of New France need not be related here.

Coming to the British period, we learn that the fur merchants of Montreal were instrumental in securing the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act of 1791, and the Jay Treaty of 1794, and did much to direct the trend of domestic legislation. "The northern half of North America", we are told, "remained British because of the importance of fur as a staple product." Further it is pointed out that the North West Company, later absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company, "established a centralized organization which covered the northern half of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The importance of this organization was recognized in boundary disputes, and it played a large role in the numerous negotiations responsible for the location of the present boundaries." "It is no accident", adds the author, "that the present Dominion coincides roughly with the fur-trading areas of northern North America. The bases of supplies for the trade in Quebec, in western Ontario, and in British Columbia represent the agricultural areas of the present Dominion. The North West Company was the forerunner of the present confederation."

Dr. Innis proceeds to trace the intimate connection between the fur trade and the development of the forest industries of Canada, the influence of the latter upon the improvement of transportation in canals and railways, the evolution of forest industries from timber rafts to pulp and paper. "Canal and railway construction were synonymous with heavy capital investment. Capital was obtained through private enterprise and substantial guarantees and aid from the imperial and colonial governments. Heavy expenditures involved the development of a strong centralized government in Canada." The collapse of weaker banks during the financial crises in Great Britain and the United States in 1825-1826, 1837, 1847, and 1857, "contributed to the centralization of banking structure which became conspicuous in the period after confederation. The fur trade and the lumber industry contributed the basic features essential to expansion after confederation."

And so the story goes, a most interesting and engrossing story of a Canadian industry that has been prized more commonly as part of the romantic atmosphere of Canada, and that now appears to be rather the very solid foundation upon which the Dominion has been built. And one must not fail to make it clear that Dr. Innis's work is no superficial study leading to conclusions based largely upon his own preconceptions. On the contrary, it is documented with a completeness that leaves nothing to be desired, and that fills one with astonishment at the tremendous research that must have gone to the preparation of this work, a work, too, that, despite its economic point of view, will be found to be very readable by many who are not economists.

Ottawa.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America. By CECIL JANE, with a Preface by SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, King Alfonso XIII. Professor of Spanish Studies in the University of Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. vii, 177. \$4.00.)

THIS is an extraordinary book. The reviewer wonders whether it is meant to be taken as a serious scholarly effort, or as a mere *jeu d'esprit*. Its purpose is to explain the reasons for the political instability of the Spanish-American nations during the past century, their seeming alternation between popular liberty and presidential despotism. The author's thesis is that the Spaniards in America, as in Spain, have always been inspired by an intense love of liberty beyond that of any other race, and at the same time by an equally consuming passion for efficiency in government. Coupled with these aspirations is an ardent idealism which will be content with nothing less than perfection in all things. The result is a dilemma, a perpetual and insoluble conflict, which is the touchstone for Spanish history in the Old World and in the New.

The explanation is attractive, but altogether too simple. To account for the political vagaries of Spanish-American politics in the nineteenth century is a problem of no mean proportions. It presumes an intimate knowledge of the historical and racial background, a close study of institutions, a wide reading in the political literature, and a personal and first-hand experience with the actual operation of practical politics in these republics. It is no game for the armchair philosopher. As "comparison is the key to understanding", it also implies a wide historical culture, a knowledge of how other peoples have acted in more or less similar circumstances.

No such preparation is revealed in the volume before us. The author achieves his purpose with a minimum of information and a maximum of surmizing about what, for the purposes of his thesis, he pleases to think are the facts. The argument is eloquently presented, but its willfulness and trifling ingenuity, the gratuitous assumptions, frequent contradictions,

dogmatic assertion of highly debatable matters, and consistent exaggeration, leave the reader in a state of dazed exasperation.

To list the inconsistencies and inaccuracies in a short review would be futile. They leap from nearly every page. The narrative of Spanish colonial history includes more than the Paraguay missions, the insignificant fortunes of Tucumán, the Araucanian wars of Chile, or the career of Las Casas. That Charles III. was "the true author of the War of Independence" in the sense the author indicates needs more convincing proof than this volume affords. The significance of the *cabildos* and the influence of the Church at the time of the Revolution are grossly misunderstood. The "republicans" did not always bring liberty, or federalism, or anarchy, and the conservatives did not always support despotism. There were "republican", and anticlerical, tyrants, as well as conservative. The paradox ascribed to the Spanish character has evidently communicated itself to the author's writing. The book, if inadequate for the English reader, will be wholly unacceptable to the Spanish Americans themselves. It will not contribute to the reputation of the Spanish Studies of the Oxford University Press.

C. H. H.

The Philippine Islands. By W. CAMERON FORBES. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 620; 636. \$12.00.)

The Philippines Past and Present. By DEAN C. WORCESTER, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Islands, 1901-1913; Member of the Philippine Commission, 1900-1913. New edition in one volume with Biographical Sketch and four additional chapters by RALSTON HAYDEN, Professor of Political Science, the University of Michigan. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1930. Pp. xii, 862. \$6.00.)

It does not often fall to a reviewer's lot to notice in one review two works written on the same region by prominent officials of that region. Here we have two works—the one written by a secretary and governor general of the Philippine Islands; the other by a secretary. The first is a new book. The second is a revision of an old book with additions by a trained man who has sought information at first hand. Governor General Forbes, a member of the family of Ralph Waldo Emerson, held office in the Philippines during the formative and consolidating periods. Dr. Worcester, formerly a professor of Zoölogy in the University of Michigan, was one of the original members of the Philippine Commission appointed by McKinley in 1900. Both ceased to have official connection with the Philippines in 1913 after a democratic victory and the inauguration of Francis Burton Harrison, as governor general. The first will be remembered best, perhaps, by the public improvements which he fostered. The second was probably the best hated man in the Philippine service

for he was outspoken to the point of tactlessness and wounded quite unnecessarily the feelings of many members of a sensitive race; yet he did more, perhaps, than any other single employee of the Philippine government to promote the prosperity and well-being of the country and he worked in the interest of the Philippines and the Filipinos and other Philippine peoples as few men have done.

Forbes's two bulky and valuable volumes deserve a place beside Worcester's *The Philippines Past and Present*, Elliott's *The Philippines*, LeRoy's *The Americans in the Philippines*, Barrows's little *History of the Philippines* with its later additions and several other works written during the American occupation of the Philippines. While they remind one in a sense of a glorified government report, they contain an excellent summary of much that has been done and attempted in the Philippines since 1898, and they show comprehensively the structure and working of the government. They do not form a definitive work by which to judge of American occupation—no such work can yet be written, although Hayden's revisions of and additions to, Worcester's book come closer to it than anything else yet written and LeRoy's early death before he could complete his work deprived us of the thoughtful conclusions of his brilliant mind. In the compilation of his work Forbes had very great aid from Frank W. Carpenter, whose term of service in the Philippines extended over twenty-five years, and who will best be remembered for his very efficient work as executive secretary of the Philippine government. In fact (see I. v-vi), that aid was so great, that this reviewer believes the volumes should have been issued under the joint authorship of Forbes and Carpenter. Governor Forbes, first as secretary of commerce and police and second as governor general, had unrivaled opportunities for gleaning information at first hand. Moreover, he had the prescience to keep a journal during his tenure of office and from this he has drawn frequently to good purpose. Undoubtedly, a verbatim publication of his journal would reveal many important observations and bits of information.

It would, of course, be asking too much of an official, especially one who has been the highest functionary in a country, to lay bare all the records as he knows them, but at times Governor Forbes speaks out with great frankness. The reader, however, finds himself frequently in the position of desiring more light. For instance, he would like to know more about the real financial condition of the Islands since 1898. The parts of the work treating of politics, political parties, and the campaign for independence should be read carefully and in conjunction with what has been written by certain Filipino writers, especially the books of Máximo Kalaw. Forbes has brought out, as has no other writer, certain details in the trend of politics especially how the party which was supposed to be hostile to the government really worked for a considerable period in harmony with it and how the party presumably friendly to government was the opposition.

In addition to the introductory chapter, and that on the early history, which are marred by several errors, the subject matter of the work quite naturally falls into four primary divisions: (a) the early years of American occupation; ending with the establishment of civil government in 1901; (b) the civil government until what is called the end of the Taft period, October 6, 1913, when Harrison was inaugurated as governor general; (c) the period of the Harrison government; and (d) the administrations of Wood and Stimson. By no means, however, are these four periods divided off into distinct sections of the work—they can not so be treated in a work of this nature—for the history of the American occupation is quite properly treated as a whole. The work is not without bitterness at times because of the overturning of the governmental structure of the Taft period after the Democratic victory in 1912, but on the whole one feels that Forbes is often writing with a great deal of self-restraint. The treatment of governmental affairs and of political activities is accompanied by a wealth of economic material. The compiler has, however, fallen into the common error of comparing financial statistics for different periods without explaining that the value of money has changed, so that the tables having no common index do not present the entire facts. The appendix which gives the most important basic documents since American occupation should not be skipped by the reader, for these will orient him as nothing else can, and will allow him to study the elements of continuity and change in the policy of the United States. The bibliography is inadequate.

Worcester's book, as he wrote it, has already gone through several printings and has received generally favorable reviews. Its greatest drawback was in the personal feeling introduced. In the revision by Hayden, this has been largely omitted, changes or additions have been made in the annotation, a biography of nine chapters has been prefixed to the work, and four new chapters to bring the work up to date added. The result is admirable. As intimated above, Hayden has come closer than any previous writer to appraising occurrences at their true value. He must be classed with LeRoy and Barrows in his attempt to state results without a mass of useless and misleading details. The volume is now much more valuable than formerly and will clarify many points. The several appendixes deserve attention, especially the excerpts from the annual report for 1925 of the governor of the Mountain Province, John C. Early.

Washington, D. C.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

SHORTER NOTICES

Weltgeschichte am Mittelmeer. Von Dr. Paul Herre, Universitätsprofessor, Berlin. [Museum der Weltgeschichte: die Staatliche, Wirtschaftliche, Soziale, Geistige und Kulturelle Entwicklung der Völker in Einzeldarstellungen, hrsgb. von Dr. Paul Herre.] (Wildpark-Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1930, pp. 454.) This is the

second published volume of a large and ambitious series which, using world history as its laboratory, seeks an explanation of the more important aspects of man's social heritage. To Professor Herre, a specialist in the field, has fallen the task of ascertaining the importance of the Mediterranean basin in world history. In narrative form the work proceeds from prehistoric times to the present.

The title of the work suggests to the reader the possibility of an artificial unity. Professor Herre, however, emphasizing the agency of the sea, shows that the culture of the most enlightened group diffused rapidly and became the common property of man over the whole area. Until the sixteenth century the Mediterranean was the true focal center of culture giving far more than was received from Western Europe. In this theme, amply developed, lies the chief value of the work. With the rise of the modern states the cultural predominance of the Mediterranean ceases, but its peculiar importance in the subsequent contests for political and commercial hegemony furnishes the author with a unifying thread for the remaining half of the volume.

Examining the content of the work we find that the development is predominantly political, although the cultural is not neglected. Much space is devoted to commerce and to the mechanics of trade and navigation. The author is interested in external relations rather than in internal change: witness, among others, the scanty treatment of internal factors in the decline of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. There is a certain freshness, however, that results from the painting of a broad canvas in broad strokes. Greece becomes the greater by reason of projection against the background of a Hellenic world; and the Middle Ages, oriented from Rome, Byzantium, and Mecca, take on a wider significance. Much, too, is gained by treating East and West concurrently. In the later centuries, since the Mediterranean is more dependent upon outside occurrences, the author is confronted with a difficult problem of curtailment. The chapters on the pre- and post-war developments contain an amazing amount of information for so few pages. The insertion of several hundred illustrations, wisely chosen, greatly enhance the value of the book.

Princeton University.

J. E. POMFRET.

A History of Iberian Civilization. By J. P. de Oliveira Martins. Translated by Aubrey F. G. Bell, with a Preface by S. de Madariaga. (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xix, 292, \$5.00.) This translation of a book which was first published in 1879 has little of value for the historical student. The author, a Portuguese publicist, had the viewpoint that "Biology, the science of life, includes the history of peoples. The organs of social life appear at first as a rudimentary nucleus, and the cells gradually unite into a whole" (p. 185). Civilization-making begins in primitive conditions of life, in the second stage of development institutions appear and finally "the thread of history is only to be found in deductions of ideas and in the expression of collective thought." With such a philosophy of history he undertook to explain Iberian civilization.

The main thesis of the book is that the civilization of the peninsula was produced by the fusion of the racial characteristics of a people of African origin (an assumption concerning which he had doubts), and Indo-European ideas of political organization and culture, imposed chiefly by the Romans. Invaders from Africa, Carthaginian and Moorish, merely strengthened the original social traits: conquerors from Europe, Roman and German, brought the ideas which united the people into a state.

The ideas most discussed are individualism, and mysticism. The spirit of Spanish Christianity, we are told, is fundamentally African. The discoveries fostered "commercial activity, so foreign to the genius of Spain that her fatal attempt to engage in it killed her" (p. 237). Such are the general ideas which the author seeks to prove with much argument, and such evidence as the learning of his day afforded.

The book is not what the title suggests. It is an essay by a Portuguese liberal of 1879 to prove that his people have always been democratic and should return again to democracy. For the history of Iberian civilization, English readers should turn to Chapman's one volume summary or Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire*.

The University of Texas.

F. DUNCALF.

Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic: a Study of his Autograph Copy of Cicero's De Oratore. By Charles Henry Beeson, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. [The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 4.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. lx, 109, \$12.00.) A distinguished British scholar, himself a paleographer, in a recent review remarked that five of the greatest living paleographers were Americans, who, more than any others, were carrying on the great tradition of Traube. Two of these are represented in recent remarkable publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America—Professor Edward Kennard Rand's *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, and Professor Charles H. Beeson's study of *Cicero's De Oratore* as copied and revised by Servatus Lupus. Loup de Ferrières was the classical star of the Carolingian renaissance. More than any medieval scholar before Petrarch, Lupus approached the ideal of modern scholarship. There are hundreds of emendations of the text; 285 in the first ten folios. Seven classical MSS. once owned by him are extant. One was identified by Traube (the Valerius Maximus); one by Rand (the Eusebius); the remaining five (Cicero's *De Oratore*, Livy, Gellius, Donatus's Commentary on Vergil, Symmachus's Letters) have been identified by Beeson. The last two are not mentioned in his correspondence. Professor Beeson intends eventually to reproduce these seven texts known to have been revised and corrected by Lupus. The value of this work, especially when explained by the luminous introduction, for knowledge of the techniques of manuscript production in a medieval scriptorium, is enormous. Script, orthography, division of syllables, punctuation, capitals

and paragraph signs, abbreviations, technical signs indicating probable corruption of the MS., proof corrections, marginal variants—all these matters are abundantly illustrated. This volume is a credit to American scholarship and to the Mediaeval Academy of America which has sponsored it. In addition, it is a beautiful example of bookmaking. It is to be hoped that Professor Beeson will be able to study the six other MSS. which once belonged to Lupus with the same completeness.

J. W. T.

Naturalwirtschaft und Geldwirtschaft in der Weltgeschichte. Von Alfons Dopsch. (Vienna, L. W. Seidel and Son, 1930, pp. xii, 294, 3.40 M.) Every student of medieval economic history has been made a debtor to the savant professor of history in the University of Vienna for this work, which is a masterly synthesis of all the important studies which have appeared within the last forty years upon this subject. Only one who knows the amount of literature thus condensed can appreciate the magnitude of the labor involved. As Dopsch says, "Die neue Perspektive kann nur durch eingehende Berücksichtigung möglichst vieler Detailarbeiten gewonnen werden". The first and second chapters are in the nature of a running start for consideration of the subject. Chapter III. deals with the ancient Orient; chapter IV. with Greece and Rome; chapter V. with the Byzantine and Mohammedan empires. The residue (six chapters) constitutes a luminous *aperçu* of the literature pertaining to the economic history of the Middle Ages. One American historian is marked for special distinction (pp. 118, 121-122, 124). The admiration of this great Viennese scholar for his no less distinguished confrère, Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, has not deterred him from criticism of some of Pirenne's over-stressed theories. The index is a marvel of reference to authors and subjects.

Texte zur Geschichte des Römischen und Kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter. Vorbereitet von Emil Seckel, herausgegeben von der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band I., *Bonizo Liber de Vita Christiana*, herausgegeben von Ernst Perels. (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1930, pp. lxxxvii, 402, 60 M.) Students of the history of canon law are well aware of the fact that "in spite of extensive and thoroughgoing investigations our knowledge of the sources concerning the developments between Pseudo-Isidore and Gratian is still far from being satisfactory". This consideration prompted the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften to inaugurate the publication of further documentary material, and the present volume is the first of this new enterprise.

Bonizo's life fell in the troublous times of the contest of Gregory VII. with Henry IV. Bonizo faithfully adhered to the pope, for whose cause he suffered imprisonment and cruel illtreatment. The *Liber de Vita Christiana* was probably finished after these sufferings. The title might

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXXVI.—13

suggest no more than a pious treatise on how to lead a truly Christian life. A glance at the contents will show that it contains a very large number of quotations on the various points of canon law. But it is not merely a collection of authorities. The learned editor calls attention to the fact that a considerable number of the sections are inscribed with the name of Bonizo himself, and he thinks that probably all those sections not credited to any previous author are also from Bonizo's own pen. At any rate these passages taken together form by themselves a well planned and comprehensive essay, and we shall not be wrong if we presume that the numerous quotations from sources are added for the purpose of supporting Bonizo's statements, though they far outrank them in extent. Bonizo's elucubrations are often based on them, give explanations of doubtful passages, harmonize apparent contradictions, and sometimes express the author's independent views. Bonizo's aim was not simply to produce a collection of canons, but to show how the Christian life of laymen and clergy ought to be guided by the law of the Church. The *Liber de Vita Christiana* treats of all the sacraments with very much detail, and dwells on the rights and duties of the prelates, of the members and heads of monastic institutions, of bishops and popes, of kings and secular officials.

The purpose of this series of text editions is not to furnish each of the volumes with an exhaustive critical discussion and minute apparatus, which "would delay the publication for decades of years, perhaps for good", but to pick out several of the best manuscripts and construct from them a text which can be satisfactory to the students of canon law. The usefulness of this initial volume is enhanced by a number of indexes and lists of names, and by a concordance of the canons contained in other medieval collections. The editor states expressly that his subject index is not so complete as he himself desired, and we certainly respect his considerations. A more detailed subject index would, however, have brought out clearly that Bonizo's work is also a mine of valuable information on the history of dogma, moral theology, and last not least, liturgy.

Marquette University.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN.

Schaffende Arbeit und Bildende Kunst. By Dr. Paul Brandt. Volume I., *Im Altertum und Mittelalter*; volume II., *Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. (Leipzig, A. Kröner, 1927, 1928, pp. xvi, 324; xvi, 348, 18 M. each.) This sumptuous publication is by the author of the art guide *Sehen und Erkennen*, the popularity of which in Germany is attested by the appearance of a sixth edition in 1925. As that work employed a novel method of presentation—the comparative—in the treatment of architecture, sculpture, and painting, according to the motive, composition, or technique of individual works of art, drawing its illustrations from the whole range of art from the Egyptians to Picasso, so the one under discussion has developed on a comprehensive scale a novel

theme. For it portrays work and handicraft from the first appearance of such representations on Egyptian reliefs of the Old Kingdom to the etchings of the English Brangwyn and our own Pennell, which reproduced ultra-modern scenes from big industry. Here, for the first time, the attempt is made to give a scientific account in chronological sequence of the creative work of the hands throughout the ages as reflected in the formative arts, a realistic story of work and crafts as opposed to the ideal themes of the usual histories of art, which pay little attention to this phase of the subject. Since "work" is conceived as the basis and center of all cultures, the history of its representation from the view-point of the history of art and æsthetics is bound to shed light on the public and private activities of every age. To make this clear is the justification of Dr. Brandt's endeavor.

The theme seems to have grown out of the author's earlier brochure, *Das Problem der Arbeit in der bildenden Kunst* (1913); and doubtless the fact that he lived for years as gymnasium director in two of the great German industrial centers, Düsseldorf and Essen, must have predisposed him to a study of this field of art. His only predecessors in the field seem to be August Springer, whose *Arbeiter und Kunst* appeared in 1911 (Stuttgart), and Margot Riess, whose *Der Arbeiter in der bildenden Kunst* appeared in 1928 (Berlin), just before Dr. Brandt brought out his second volume. But the first of these works is more generally pedagogical in content, embracing also poetical and musical art, and both are concerned only with the very recent period since Millet and Meunier.

In the two volumes, each of which is conceived as an independent work, the author, with the help of surprisingly varied and rich illustrations, many of which have been hitherto inaccessible to the ordinary reader, has unfolded the pageant of the *Arbeitsbild*. It is far more than a scientific presentation of the vast theme with its emphasis on the educational value of this type of art and feeling for it, since it is addressed not only to artists and connoisseurs, scholars and students, but may be read with easy understanding by the ordinary craftsman and technician, who can see here in a panorama what splendid achievements have been made in the past by the work of the hands. Indeed the illustrations are so profuse and varied that one could get a fairly adequate knowledge of the subject through studying them alone with the help of their legends. In a sense the text serves only as a masterly guide to the illustrations, which in number average well over one to a page with the descriptions always in close proximity, and in variety and clearness evoke only praise.

The University of Pennsylvania.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

Der Niedersächsische Kunstkreis. Von V. C. Habicht. (Hanover, Gesellschaft zum Studium Niedersachsens, 1930, pp. vi, 427, 18 M.) Lower Saxony embraces the province of Hanover, the free states of Brunswick, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Schaumburg-Lippe, the Hanse towns, and the province of Schleswig-Holstein. The purpose of

this book is to trace the development of art in this wide region from the ninth century to the present time and to show that there is such a thing as Lower Saxon art, distinguishable from the art of other regions. The qualities of this art are hard to define, but chief among them are the striving for truth and reality, the desire for durability, and the sense of the practical. These show themselves in different ways at different times and places. In early times the desire for durability leads to the wide use of oak wood as a material and may in some measure account for the rapid rise of bronze casting, especially at Hildesheim, about the year 1000. The author distinguishes seven groups or schools of Lower Saxon art, of which the most clearly differentiated were first, the Southern Lower Saxon, with its chief center at Hildesheim and lesser centers at Brunswick and Goslar, and, second, the group of the coast, the Hanse towns, in which the wealth, confidence, and foreign connections of the people express themselves. These schools are all affected by the art of other countries and by one another.

At all times art in Lower Saxony was carried along by the general current of the period. Its Romanesque art is native, though affected by Burgundian and French influence, Gothic is French in origin, the Renaissance and the baroque are introduced from outside, but through all the changes of style the art of Lower Saxony is found to preserve under different forms its essential qualities.

After the introduction, the book is divided into five main divisions (Hauptteile): architecture, sculpture, painting, graphic art, and arts and crafts. In each of these its subject is treated chronologically and by schools or places, with careful description and discussion of individual works and of the productions of masters whose names are known. The book is not easy reading, but it is indispensable to the serious student of the art of Lower Saxony and is an important contribution to the history of German art in general. The illustrations are good and well chosen, and there is a good index.

The Library of Congress.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

Rome and the Papacy: an Essay on the Relations between Church and State. By Gilbert Bagnani. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930, pp. xv, 259, \$3.00.) Dr. Bagnani's essay offers interpretive comment on the historical development of the papacy. From the opening paragraph, which seems to accept the view that "the appointed task of the Roman Empire was to establish Christianity and, through Pilate, to offer up the sacrifice necessary for the redemption of the human race", one might expect a high teleological version of the historical process, but our essayist insists that the claims of the papacy are not to be based on any such historical demonstration. The dogma of the papacy, he says, is a belief resting on the authority of the Church and is independent of historical evidence. Should the belief be opposed to such evidence, "we would unhesitatingly reject the evidence rather than abandon the dogma".

Nevertheless the essay is to a large extent historical narration. It traces rapidly the growth of Christianity, the effort of the state to control it, and the means by which the spiritual independence of the Church has been preserved during the strife of the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the loss of temporal power, and in the last great event, the Lateran Treaty of 1929. Regarding Roman Primacy as an absolute truth above human understanding, Dr. Bagnani feels free to give a very frank and critical account of the historical relativities and diverse means by which that truth has prevailed. Bad or false reasons, even forged documents may have aided its establishment, but these do not impair the doctrine which they were used to support. The historical process seems to be viewed as an evolution from a subconscious sensing of dogmatic truth to the final emergence of its full dogmatic definition.

In general the account here given of the tortuous earthly process is not likely to rouse much dissent. In a detail apart from his theme he misstates the heresy of Praxeas and Sabellius, failing to agree with Tixeront's *Histoire des Dogmes* which he names as indispensable. The exposition is enlivened by pungent and confident opinions as to the wisdom or unwisdom of statesmen and ecclesiastics involved in the historical situations, with some tart comments on present affairs, as when he illustrates the failure of the lay state by the strife and intolerance existing in "the agnostic United States".

Lowell.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, 1535-1617. Edited with an Introduction, by A. Francis Steuart. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930, pp. xiv, 377, \$5.00.) The names of Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, are bound to whet the appetite of the present day reader of historical literature. Consequently Mr. A. Francis Steuart and the publishers have produced a semi-popular edition of the memoirs of that well traveled Scotchman and adviser to rulers and statesmen, Sir James Melville. This gentleman tells us how he began his public career in 1549 when, at the age of fourteen, he accompanied the Bishop of Valence to France in order to become a page to Mary Stuart, wife of the dauphin of France. Side-tracked from his objective by the opportunity to serve the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, he spent his younger days on the Continent in the employ of that councillor of the king of France and later, the elector of the Palatinate. Not until 1564 did he return to Scotland at the request of his queen who was in great need of so experienced a diplomat.

The greater part of Sir James's memoirs deal with the factional troubles in Scotland after the imprisonment of Mary in England. He tells with much detail how three regents follow each other to their graves and how the fourth, the Earl of Morton, is deposed to make way for the personal rule of young King James. His pages are filled with the intrigues of the king's lords and the queen's lords, his counsel to one or

the other faction, and his hatred of the English, particularly Lord Burleigh. For Elizabeth he never shows intense dislike, but knowing her only too well he always distrusts her words and actions. When James VI. takes the reins he supports him whole-heartedly and frequently indulges in sound advice.

The editing of these memoirs of Sir James Melville has entailed a comparison of the last and best edition published in 1827 by the Bannatyne Club in the original Scotch dialect with the first English edition of 1683. As a result Mr. Steuart has left to posterity a reliable version in picturesque but understandable English. For the reader unacquainted with the history of Scotland at the time of Mary Stuart and her son, the book is filled with too many names and details to hold his attention. But for the student seeking local color and glimpses of the turbulent lairds of late sixteenth century Scotland a new edition of Melville's memoirs will be most welcome in spite of its scanty notes and entirely inadequate name and place indexes.

New York University.

HAROLD HULME.

La Modernité du XVI^e Siècle. Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à la Sorbonne et au Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1930, pp. 106, 10 fr.) M. Hauser harks back to the great French historians of the last century to get a starting point for his thesis that the sixteenth century was essentially modern, and that the seventeenth century marked a reaction of conservative forces against it. He appeals to Michelet and to Sainte-Beuve for support. Particularly in the first chapter of the wise and beautiful *Port Royal*, Sainte-Beuve sustains this position almost to the point of paradox. M. Hauser has revived the ideas of his great master, not naïvely or servilely, but with the wealth of mellow thought and fresh connotation which one would naturally expect from his long and profound study of the period treated.

According to his interpretation the sixteenth century saw an intellectual revolution, a religious revolution, a moral revolution, and the establishment of a new politics and of a new economics. The achievement of the first, or intellectual change, was science; the achievement of the Reformers was to proclaim the autonomy of conscience, even when, inconsistently, they persecuted dissidents. The moral revolution consisted in the discovery of the unity of mankind and of the idea of progress. Politics was completely changed by the rise of the ideas of nationalism, democracy, secularization of statesmanship, and internationalism. In Henri IV. M. Hauser sees a precursor of Wilson; in Calvin the source of American democracy. Most profound of all, he argues, was the economic shift which transformed all the material conditions of life.

So persuasively has the learned author expounded his position that I am prepared to concede the whole of it with one reservation. Even in this I feel that it is rash to dissent from so great an authority as M. Hauser, not to mention Sainte-Beuve, who states the thesis to which I

take exception much more strongly than does he. To my mind it is as dangerous to characterize a century too broadly as it is to draw up an indictment against a whole people. In calling the sixteenth century modern, and still more in branding the seventeenth as reactionary, the historian is liable to forget the numerous qualifications and exceptions needed to conform his thesis to the facts. Here, if anywhere, *la vérité se trouve dans la nuance*. I can not see the mentality of the sixteenth century as consciously progressive as a whole; still less can I admit that the mentality of the seventeenth century was retrogressive as a whole. Each century was, in certain lines, extremely revolutionary and creative; each was, in most of its habits, as human nature always is, stable and conservative. Too broad a characterization in either case loses sight of the essential discriminations. But it would be ungracious to carp further at a flaw in a work which I have read with unusual delight and with unusual instruction.

Cornell University.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Malta of the Knights. By E. W. SCHERMERHORN. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, [1929], pp. iv, 316, \$7.50.) When the advancing Ottoman power drove the Hospitallers from their stronghold at Rhodes, Charles V. granted them Tripoli and Malta. The Knights accepted Tripoli with reluctance, making only half-hearted efforts to protect it and yielding it to the Turk within a generation. But of the small and barren island of Malta they made a vast fortress which served as a Christian outpost in the Mediterranean until the Turk had long ceased to be an active menace. Here were preserved and upheld—for a time—the glorious military traditions of the Knights. Miss Schermerhorn presents a vivid and entertaining picture of the activities of this group of celibate warriors; of their habits, good and bad; of their fleet galleys which spread terror and dismay through the Mediterranean; of their squabbles with pope, inquisitor, and bishop; of their vast and useless fortifications erected with the wealth pouring in from their European commanderies; and finally, of their decadence and inglorious surrender to the Little Corsican. The author modestly and correctly states that her effort presents “but a nibbling” of the large mass of available material, drawing “its inspiration less from Latin Bulls . . . than from the sights and scenes and sparkling air of Malta itself. . . .” But the “nibbling” gives evidence of excellent discrimination, providing tasty morsels from unpublished MSS. as well as printed works. Of manuscript sources she appears to have made most use of the Barberini Collection in the Vatican Library. The volume is sumptuously illustrated with photographs of present day Malta and reproductions of the frescoes and paintings with which the Grand Masters adorned the walls of their palaces. As a history of the Order during the period of its sojourn at Malta this book leaves something to be desired; as a glorified historical guidebook it should be read by those who contemplate a visit to the island. A map and a

chronological list of the Grand Masters during the period would have been helpful. There is a good index.

College of the City of New York.

WALTHER I. BRANDT.

The Journal of Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp, anno 1639. Translated and edited by C. R. Boxer. (Cambridge, University Press, 1930, pp. xviii, 237, 21 s.) This laconic journal of the great Dutch admiral deals with the *coup de grace* which his fleet dealt to Spanish sea power, already shaken a half century before by the English. The episode is of interest to the English since it occurred in their own waters, in defiance of their neutrality, and also because it marked the zenith of the Dutch sea power which England was to challenge thirteen years later. The journal itself and the excellent introduction throw light on several features which are not to be found in the best accounts in English—those of Gardiner (IX. 56-69) and Edmonson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry, 1600-1653* (pp. 120-129). Mr. Boxer, comparing Tromp's version with the stories of eyewitnesses in the other two fleets, De Mello and Peter White, has brought forth material not even included in the Dutch works of De Jonge, Arend and De Boer. The affair was indirectly caused by the victories of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar on the upper Rhine, cutting off Spain's overland communications between Italy and the Netherlands. Forced to the sea, Spain concentrated all available naval resources in an "Armada" under De Oquendo. It had the double mission of conveying troops and treasure to the Netherlands and of crushing the French fleet of De Sourcis, even should that seagoing archbishop be caught in neutral English waters. Instead, Oquendo ran into a Dutch force under Tromp who had been cruising for months to intercept him. Badly outnumbered, Tromp engaged the Spaniards and forced them into English waters, just below the Thames. Then it simply "rained" Dutch reinforcements until Tromp had some hundred ships. Pennington, with a small "Ship Money" fleet, tried to maintain neutrality, but Charles himself was endeavoring to barter that same neutrality for the Palatinate or for hard cash. Tromp received the secret resolutions of the States General of September 21, ordering him to destroy the Spanish fleet without taking any heed of neutrality. As the relative force of the Dutch, Spanish, and English in the Downs was respectively, in naval conference parlance, about 4-2-1, it was simply a matter of waiting for a northwest wind. On October 21, Tromp struck. Only some fourteen Spanish ships escaped, and the resultant moral effect was even more important than the actual loss of ships. The journal itself covers Tromp's six months at sea. It gives an excellent inside picture of the preparatory period, with Tromp spreading his net for Oquendo, sending out frigates and flying squadrons, and sifting the news derived from intercepted merchantmen. It also gives an intimate picture of a fleet at sea, with all the details of victualing, courts martial, keelhaulings, broken topmasts and the like. It devotes only one of its 125 pages to the great fight itself. The editing has

been done in an able and thorough manner, and the journal has been translated into seventeenth century English. The volume is of the same general nature and utility as the valuable publications of the Navy Records Society, and one is not surprised that the editor shares with so many of us an indebtedness to W. G. Perrin, the admiralty librarian who has been extremely active and helpful in the editing and publication of source material in naval history.

Princeton University.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

L'Évolution du Port de Nantes, Organisation et Trafic depuis les Origines. Par Paul Jeulin, Docteur en Droit, Avocat à la Cour de Paris. (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 516, 60 fr.) This volume, as its title indicates, deals with the trade of the city of Nantes from the earliest days of which we have any knowledge down to a forecast of the future. This is a large order.

Unfortunately, the author has followed a rather mechanical method of organization and treatment. The twenty centuries from Celtic times to the present day are divided into four periods, the division points being 1500, 1789, and 1857, the date of the founding of St. Nazaire. There are also about thirty pages of introductory material. All chapters have almost identical subtopics: governmental agencies, commercial organizations, means of transportation, structures, ships, taxes, goods handled, and regions traded with. These topics are redivided into parts small enough to be treated in from one to a half dozen paragraphs each. Even these minute headings are at times nearly identical in successive chapters. This mechanical process is so severe that it is impossible to present an analysis of the relations between events. Page after page states facts that either are or should be in tabular form, and cause and effect almost disappear. Much of the volume must be accepted as merely a well arranged dictionary of facts.

This method of treatment does not bring out many generalizations. They are mostly left for the reader to find. Nantes appears to have been a port of very early origin, and because of the river trade it continued to be a seat of commerce during the Middle Ages. A position of secondary importance was maintained until the colonial trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought the port to the first rank in France. During the nineteenth century the decline of the mercantilist colonial empire, the increasing draught of ships, and the poor condition of the Loire River caused a rapid decline of prosperity. After the founding of St. Nazaire trade at Nantes almost collapsed. Since about 1890 the canalization of the lower Loire has brought about a revival, and Nantes is again an important port, depending now largely on European trade. Its chief handicap at present is the poor condition of the upper Loire and the lack of other suitable facilities for transportation to the interior.

The sources used are, in the main, the archives of the nation, the department, the city, and the chamber of commerce. Many monographs are

used, and in some places considerable sections are based on well-known general secondary works.

Western Reserve University.

CLARENCE P. GOULD.

Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams and European Diplomacy (1747-1758). By D. B. Horn, D.Litt., Lecturer in History in the University of Edinburgh. (London, George G. Harrap and Company, 1930, pp. 314, 15 s.) In sharp contrast to a previous biography of the English dilettante politician and diplomat, Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, by the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke (see A. H. R., XXXIV. 822-823), the present work deals little with the personal side of Sir Charles's life and very fully with the diplomatic history of the times. After a very brief sketch of the part played by Saxony in the War of the Austrian Succession, the author starts a thorough and detailed account of the diplomatic negotiations in which Sir Charles played a part: his apprenticeship in Saxony, his unsuccessful mission to Berlin, 1750-1751, the making of the British subsidy treaty of 1751 with Saxony, his negotiations in Dresden and Poland, 1751-1756, and his mission to Vienna in 1753. This occupies slightly more than half the book. Part II. deals in more detail with the making of the Anglo-Russian subsidy treaty of 1755, the part played by Russia in the diplomatic revolution of 1756, and the beginnings of the Seven Years' War.

Though the work of Williams is the center of the author's scheme of organization, the book is not confined solely to that diplomat's work. The occasional expositions of the diplomatic situation are clear and interesting, though the lay reader will hardly be thrilled by the masses of factual details likely to clog his intellectual digestion. The author is not actuated by any bias in favor of Williams, that "fat and pompous roué" who elaborately flattered the Czarina Elizabeth. Again and again the author criticizes his blunders scathingly, though fairly admitting that some of the worst failures were due to his superiors at home. The judgment that "few diplomatists have such a record of unmitigated failure" is severe.

The best parts of the book are those dealing with the diplomatic revolution of 1756 from the Russian and Prussian angles, showing how the Anglo-Russian treaty helped bring Frederick the Great into alliance with Britain. The author explains that the danger of rupture of the Franco-Prussian alliance made Frederick at first extremely anxious to keep the peace on the Continent. The conclusion of an Anglo-Russian treaty was, however, the immediate cause of the Convention of Westminster, which in turn led directly to the diplomatic revolution. Furthermore, it was the anti-Prussian resolutions of Russia in March and April, 1756, and the consequent Russian military preparations that led Frederick to take the offensive against Saxony and so bring about a Continental war. The author disposes of the story that Frederick decided to attack on account of the dispatches found by his spy in the Saxon archives and

utterly condemns him for persisting "in walking into the trap set for him by the greatest of eighteenth-century diplomatists, the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz". Williams, too, gets his share of blame for gaining the reputation at St. Petersburg of being a Prussian spy and almost embroiling Britain and Russia in war.

The book is a work of thorough and painstaking scholarship and very fully provided with references to the primary sources, a useful list of which is appended.

The University of North Dakota.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

A History of the English Corn Laws from 1660-1846. By Donald Grove Barnes, Professor of History in the University of Oregon. [London School of Economics Studies in Economics and Social History.] (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930, pp. xv, 336, \$5.00.) The title of this volume is not very happily chosen. In the first place it conceals the best feature of the book, the careful analysis of the literature dealing with the corn laws after 1750, and in the second, the covering dates are rather misleading as the first ninety years are summarized in twenty pages. It may be true that there were no pamphlets issued then "devoted entirely to the Corn Laws", but there are gleanings in various economic tracts which prove the importance contemporaries attached to the export of corn which Defoe calls a "clear gain to the publick wealth of the nation . . . one of the most advantageous parts of our commerce" (*Plan of the English Commerce*, ch. VII.). Mercantilism, therefore, should be mentioned as a possible alternative explanation of the system of bounties. The controversial literature begins in 1751, and thenceforward Professor Barnes is on sure ground. His summaries are so luminous and his citations so happy that few will need to go to the pamphlets themselves to trace either the evolution of public opinion or the objects legislators set out to achieve. Two chapters are particularly impressive: the ninth which shows how the arguments of the Anti-Corn Law League were anticipated in the eighteen-twenties, and the eleventh on the agitation from 1838 to 1845. Cobden and his fellow leaguers appear in a much less favorable light than in Morley's *Life*, and their contradictions and abusive personalities may shock their idolaters. One statement here may be contested, that Peel "towered above" his contemporaries. Even here it is allowed that he "writhed" under Disraeli's attacks, and Gladstone testifies to his "righteous dullness" when replying to them. This hardly suggests a towering attitude. Moreover, if the reason for party government is to execute the mandate for which it has been elected, then there is little exaggeration in Disraeli's statement that a Conservative government under Peel was "an organized hypocrisy". These are points, however, on which difference of opinion is legitimate, and in no way diminish admiration and gratitude for such thorough research so judiciously presented.

The University of Chicago.

GODFREY DAVIES.

The Peninsular Journal of Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 1808-1817. Edited, with an Introduction, by I. J. Rousseau, M.A., New College, Oxford. (London, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. xix, 355, 21 s.) Sir Benjamin D'Urban was a born soldier. He was not a genius; but he brought to his profession keen intelligence, untiring industry, enthusiasm, courage, and a fine spirit of loyalty that won for him the confidence and commendation of his commanders. Eventually he became a major general in the British army, the governor of Cape Colony (Durban, in Natal, is named after him) and, lastly, commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada.

This *Journal* covers his services in the Peninsular War. When D'Urban arrived at Corunna in October, 1808, as assistant quartermaster general on the staff of Sir David Baird, he was thirty-one years of age and had been in the army fifteen years. His service had not been eventful; but recent training and experience with the quartermaster general's department was to prove of inestimable value.

Ordered with dispatches to Sir John Moore in the field, and then to join the army in Portugal, he was so detained upon one duty and another, as he proceeded, that by the time he reached Lisbon, in April, 1809, he had ridden over 2,000 miles. His notes of this long journey are very enlightening, not only as to the physical aspects of the country—the scene of campaigns soon to follow—but as to the customs and the character of the people and the resources of town and field, from the soldier's point of view.

Early entries in the *Journal* are diffuse and long (one sentence, selected at random, numbers 233 words); but later, with the pressure of duties, the entries are stripped bare of all save the essential facts. And this makes wearisome reading. The book, indeed, can hardly be commended to the general reader of military history; but it should prove invaluable to the specialist.

Sir Charles Oman, in his great work on the Peninsular War, describes the day by day criticism in the *Journal*, of the strategy and tactics both of Masséna and of Wellington, as of "the highest interest as reflecting the opinions of the more intelligent section of the headquarters staff" and "of those who had the best opportunity of knowing Wellington's plans from the inside." The accounts of Salamanca and of the Burgos Retreat are of special value.

There should be a word as to the map provided. One of the important features of the *Journal* is the daily notation of the movements and positions of the troops; but, for the most part, one searches the map in vain for the towns and places mentioned. It is exasperating and detracts from the interest and usefulness of the narrative.

The Library of Congress.

ALLEN R. BOYD.

Lord Melbourne. By Bertram Newman. (New York and London, Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xii, 321, \$4.50.) We have nothing but

praise for this able and delightful book. It is well modeled and well written; it is scholarly; it is marked throughout by insight and sympathy.

Three facts about Melbourne and his career are matters of common knowledge. He had a picturesque wife whose infatuation for Byron caused him much embarrassment and more distress. He had a real gift for phrase-making. He was eminently successful in the rôle of mentor to Queen Victoria during the first four years of her reign. Less generally known are the width and thoroughness of his reading, the seriousness of his resolve to discharge adequately his public duty, and the real kindness of heart which was cloaked by a self-protecting cynicism.

Mr. Newman's study of Melbourne is essentially a characterization. This is not to say that the political problems which confronted him are waved aside. Melbourne first took office under Canning in 1827 as chief secretary for Ireland, and although prior to this date he had had at intervals a parliamentary experience of nine years, he was only concerned with politics actively during the fourteen years which closed in 1841. It is extraordinary that a man whose active connection with politics was limited to fourteen years should have been prime minister for approximately half that time, but it is even more extraordinary that one who by instinct was so clearly a cross-bench man should have become prime minister at all. Mr. Newman gives a luminous account of the process by which Melbourne, whose family connections were all with the Whigs, became a Canningite, and how after his leader's death he threw in his lot with Grey. It is a rapid sketch of British politics from Canning to Peel, but done with great clearness and comprehensiveness, even allowing to the Benthamites and the Owenites their due share in shaping the aspirations and policies of that kaleidoscopic decade which followed the first Reform Bill.

The open secret of Melbourne's success during a very troubled time is that his leadership was based upon an excellent working knowledge of human nature. Had the issues been somewhat more sharply defined his government might not have lasted so long. His parliamentary following was far from homogeneous, but much that became clear-cut after 1846 was still nebulous. With many of the Whig leaders groping in the twilight, with the radicals imperfectly organized, and with the Irish question at the stage to which it had been brought by O'Connell, there was uncommon scope for a type of leadership which drew its strength from fair-mindedness, quickness of perception, sympathy, and a sense of what was practicable at the moment. These qualities and qualifications Melbourne possessed to a high degree. Mr. Newman's account of how he exercised them is both sound and vivid.

Montreal.

C. W. COLBY.

Aus Bismarcks Bundesrat: Aufzeichnungen des Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen zweiten Bundesratsbevollmächtigten Karl Oldenburg aus den Jahren 1878-1885. Im Auftrage seiner Familie herausgegeben von Wil-

helm Schüssler. (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1929, pp. 115.) The melancholy record of criticism of a powerful statesman by one of his minor contemporaries and opponents is presented in this little volume of excerpts from the journals and letters of an old-school liberal free trader, trampled down under the ruthless march of Bismarck's new economic and social policy. While revealing much that was petty and spiteful in the character and methods of the greater man, it also exposes the blindness of his critic to the changing situation of Germany with which the government's program of social legislation was devised to deal. Throughout runs the tragic theme of Bismarck's intolerance of independent thought and his identification of honest differences of opinion with disloyalty to the state, which reduced able and conscientious public servants like Oldenburg to the rôle of embittered carpers and crushed out individual initiative to an extent that left the German system of government a devitalized bureaucratic machine when his directing genius was removed.

The publication is justified by the appreciable modicum of new light which it throws on the internal history of Bismarck's régime. Especially, of course, in the field of his relations with the Bundesrat additions are made to the material already collected by Poschinger. Oldenburg brings out in clear relief the destructive contrast between the chancellor's regard for that body as an organ of national unity and his actual treatment of it, the futility of his efforts to increase its prestige, for instance, by checking the small states' practice of voting by proxy, while denying the delegates of those states any effective participation in the making of decisions. The high point in Oldenburg's own experience is reached in Bismarck's unsuccessful efforts, begun in 1880, to secure his replacement by a more pliant representative, efforts which went to the length of bringing pressure on the Mecklenburg government by the exclusion for the next two years of its delegation from the committees on taxation and customs.

The significance of the material presented is well brought out by passages of editorial comment based on a thorough knowledge of the subjects dealt with.

Washington, D. C.

J. V. FULLER.

Das Dritte Deutsche Kaiserreich. Von Karl Friedrich Nowak. Band I., *Die Übersprungene Generation.* (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1929, pp. 332, 12 M.) This solid, brilliant little book, the first in a series on the German Empire, deals with the period 1888 to the dismissal of Bismarck in a predominantly biographical manner. It is based upon excellent contemporary and documentary sources and takes into account the latest researches. The style—a happy combination of chunky Actonese prose with vivid staccato sentences—harmonizes with the contents of the book.

The central theme is the decline of Bismarck and the rise of William II. Never has this subject been described with better psychological and historical understanding. The sick, aging Bismarck with eyes still filled

with "demoniacal fire" using every means—including wholesale bribery—to retain his power, over-stimulated the young Prince, then restrained himself before the young Kaiser until finally the repressed fires broke forth in titanic flames. And William, reverencing the mighty creator of the Empire, but beginning to realize the fundamental divergence of views, then shocked by the news of the Reinsurance Treaty, finally determined to get rid of the Master. He struggled against the idea for months but "zum Schluss gab sich Kaiser Wilhelm zu, dass es vielleicht nicht einmal die Dinge selbst, auch nicht die Persönlichkeiten waren, die gegeneinander standen. Wiederum ernob sich vor ihm die 'übersprungene Generation'." William I. and Bismarck had lived too long.

Nor are other characters neglected. The pictures of Johanna, the one who nursed the theory of the "Bismarck dynasty", and of Herbert, who worshipped his father as a "demi-god, or at least a sort of Michelangelo", have never been surpassed. The Empress Frederick, Waldersee, Eulenberg, Moltke, Lucanus, and numerous others receive trenchant justice, illumined by new, intimate details. For the first time Holstein emerges as an intelligible figure. The chief merit of the book lies in these rich psychological studies of German statesmen of the time.

The biographical approach, of course, has its drawbacks. The vision of the author is limited almost entirely to the subjects visible to his characters. Foreign policy is discussed with cramping brevity. The author neglects the fact that Bismarck had less faith in the stability of British policy than in the reliability of the Russian Czars. Economic, political, and sociological conditions appear only as a faint background for the narrow views of the chief personalities.

The University of Missouri.

M. H. COCHRAN.

Die Deutschen Eisenbahnen im Kriege. Von Dr. jur. Adolph Sarter, Geheimer Regierungsrat, Präsident der Reichsbahndirektion Trier. [Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Weltkrieges, Deutsche serie. Generalherausgeber, Professor Dr. James T. Shotwell.] (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xvii, 312.) During the World War Germany faced unique railway problems. The British blockade sealed the water gates of her transportation system, which was largely designed to serve overseas trade, and like our Civil War threw unprecedented burdens on east and west carriers. Industrial geography changed. Sources of raw materials shifted. New concentration points sprang up in what had been light traffic territory. Average hauls lengthened—from 119 to 163 kilometers, but average traffic density decreased. Lines captured from the enemy expanded operated mileage from 64,000 to 80,000 kilometers, of which 7500 kilometers of Russian wide gauge track were changed to the narrower German gauge. An extreme shortage of essential raw materials, like copper and lubricants, hampered operations. Yet the service rendered, as measured by train, locomotive, and car mileage, was higher in

1917 than in 1913. Simultaneously heavier rolling stock and train loadings added to the tonnage represented by these measurements.

Space limitations forbid even mention of many technical questions, relating to organization, operation, and finance, discussed by the author, or analysis of the statistical appendixes occupying the last thirty-four pages of the volume. We are told that Germany's railways were planned primarily to promote industries and produce revenue for the federal states, and not for war. Indeed military betterments demanded by the army had not been begun when hostilities broke out. The fact that the railways contributed annually three and a half billion marks to the state revenues helped to prevent their amalgamation into an imperial system after their nationalization, despite Bismarck's earnest effort to accomplish this. They were not unified until 1920, following the adoption of the Weimar constitution.

During the war the home lines remained under civilian control while those captured from the enemy were operated directly by the army. Lack of coöperation developed, to the extent that the railway administration was not informed of so important a measure as the Hindenburg program, to double and triple the output of ordnance and munitions in 1917, until several weeks after its adoption, or of the location of important new plants until orders for necessary sidings were filed. Neither were the railways granted the priorities with respect to raw materials and labor which were given munitions works. Railway finances were upset by inflation, which largely explains why the operating ratio rose from less than seventy per cent. before the war to nearly 331 per cent. in 1923. Post-war developments, which take the lines out of state control and pledge them for reparations, are discussed briefly, but are not analyzed in detail.

The monograph holds a worthy place in the imposing series of economic studies of the World War of which it forms a part. Its author, who is a veteran railway executive, fully commands his subject.

The Library of Congress.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Makers of Modern Europe: Portraits and Personal Impressions and Recollections. By Count Carlo Sforza, former Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. (Indianapolis, the Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1930, pp. 420, \$5.00.) This is an interestingly written, well illustrated volume of political portraits. Obviously, any author who undertakes to deal in 380 pages with forty characters in contemporary European history must do so in a superficial way. To seventeen of his *Makers of Modern Europe* Count Sforza devotes less than ten pages each; to several, in fact, he gives five pages or less. Sir Austen Chamberlain, whose foreign policy he characterizes as "the weakest and most hesitating that England has ever known", the author dismisses with a scant three pages. The sketches are arranged in six groups, with such picturesque headings as *The End of a World*, including Franz Joseph, Rudolph, Franz Ferdinand, Aehrenthal, and Tisza, and *Shadows of the Past*, comprising Empress

Eugénie and Lord Curzon. Under *A Crisis of Democracy: How Fascism Came*, he depicts Sonnino, D'Annunzio, Mussolini, and Pius XI; and under *Dictators*, he concludes with Lenin, Mustafa Kemal, Pilsudski, Trotsky, Stalin, Yuan Shi-kai, and Sun Yat-sen. Just why the last two were included among the "Makers of Modern Europe" is difficult to see.

In Count Sforza's chapters, brief though they are, the reader is undoubtedly given the benefit of a shrewd observer's keen insight into the characters of some of Europe's outstanding statesmen. Nevertheless, he feels at times that the sketches are colored by the author's own prejudices or experiences, that they are cleverly drawn to reveal the errors and weaknesses of others while giving the impression that the author's views—alas, all too frequently ignored—were almost uniformly wise and correct. One questions his denunciation of President Wilson for "insisting on an integral application of his principles on the Italian sector, when he had given way on so many others". Wilson did not insist on the integral acceptance of his Fourteen Points in dealing with Italy. For strategic and economic reasons he acquiesced in Italy's annexation of Germans in the Southern Tirol and Jugoslavs around the head of the Adriatic. One wonders, too, whether it is the author's pro-Serb sentiment which leads him to insist, despite Jovanovitch's article of 1924, that Jovanovitch and the Serbian cabinet generally were "totally ignorant" of the archduke's contemplated assassination in 1914. Occasionally one comes upon information of historical importance like the statement that early in 1919 Benedict XV. authorized confidential conversations with Orlando for the purpose of settling the Roman question, and that the tentative demands of the Vatican at that time "were incomparably more moderate than the terms imposed in 1929 on the Fascist Government". The volume reveals the author's wide acquaintance in European circles.

Indiana University.

F. LEE BENNS.

Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, containing Earlier Political History of the Eastern-Ngûni Clans. By the Reverend A. T. Bryant. With two maps and thirty-one illustrations. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1929, pp. xxi, 710, \$5.00.) Most South African history has been written from the standpoint of the conflict between Boer and Briton; the native was out of the picture. This book is an epoch-making study of the Zulu natives and of their early relations with a few white men. The outstanding problem in the Union of South Africa to-day, as it has generally been in times past, is the native question, and white men there are uniting to solve this problem and to resist the pressure of natives, who outnumber them in the ratio of approximately 5,800,000 to 1,700,000. Africa was the last continent to be explored geographically, and its natives, though long used as slaves, have only recently been subjected to scientific study. Mr. Bryant, an author of a Zulu-English dictionary and an authority on the Zulu language, during an active career of forty-five years has combined the work of the scholar with the life of the missionary, and has writ-

ten a history of the period before 1828, up to which time the natives were practically untouched by European influences. He has succeeded in carrying out his objective of presenting "a complete conspectus of the earliest known history of the natives of Zululand and Natal". He has preserved the folklore of the Zulus for the anthropologist, the ethnologist, and other students of primitive man.

Mr. Bryant essayed the difficult task of locating geographically and ascertaining all possible facts concerning the Zulu clans before their consolidation into modern native kingdoms. He has made two maps, one locating the native clan groups and another placing 160 of the clans in definite spots. Also he has listed 800 clans and sub-clans originally living in what is now Zululand and Natal. The map and the list show conditions as they existed about the year 1818. In one chapter he summarizes, much after the fashion of the *Germania* of Tacitus, the social organization, the daily life, and the education of the Zulus about the year 1816. In that year he estimates the population of Zululand at 74,000 and that of Natal at about 100,000. The ideal of 'the noble savage' held by eighteenth century Englishmen and Frenchmen suggests some interesting comparisons when considered in the light of the studies of various Zulu chiefs. Two of these are dealt with at length. One, 'the chivalrous knight', Dingiswayo, and the other the brutal military conqueror, Shaka. In a "comparatively humane way", Mr. Bryant states, "Dingiswayo overcame, at times by actual force, at times by moral suasion, one after the other the whole of the chieftains and clans of Zululand." Shaka, on the other hand, although given full credit for his military ability, is described as fearing none, obeying none, considering none, respecting none. Assassinations of father by his sons, brother by brothers were quite common among these black lords. The volume is packed with information and contains many genealogical tables. There are 16 plate illustrations, a useful bibliography, and an index.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The University of California at Los Angeles.

L'Algérie Française: un Siècle de Colonisation, 1830-1930. Par Victor Piquet, ancien Contrôleur Général de l'Armée. Préface de M. Octave Homberg. (Paris, Colin, 1930, pp. xiv, 413, 35 fr.) Victor Piquet, who in 1912 published a volume on French colonization in North Africa, now has written a similar complete handbook for Algeria alone. This last is largely an economic history based entirely on printed materials. It can serve as a thorough, fair, and convenient summary of French policy, economic, social, and political in this colony.

The arrangement of the book is itself a recommendation. A preamble of two chapters deals with Algeria in 1830 and 1930; the rest of the book serving to account for the changes made during the century. These changes are divided into three categories, colonization, administration, and economic growth (*outillage*, as he terms it). In the first he outlines

almost every phase of agricultural, commercial, and industrial development, including lists of important crops, natural resources, etc. He discusses homestead laws and the growth of tariff regulations. The second section gives a critical account of the administration and its history, along with a presentation of the problems arising in the governing of a colony so largely peopled by Mohammedans. The author is by no means blinded by the imperialistic flag waving which has appeared during the celebration of Algeria's one hundredth anniversary under the French. He sees the native problem in all its seriousness and takes particular pains to view it from all sides. The last section tells of the growth in transportation facilities, roads, railways, steamship lines, as well as the development of national and local banks.

Although the book is not based on original material M. Piquet has performed a valuable service in amalgamating the work of others into this compact and critical presentation which can serve both the academic and lay reader.

Yale University.

SHERMAN KENT.

Raveneau de Lussan, Buccaneer of the Spanish Main and early French Filibuster of the Pacific. A Translation into English of his *Journal of a Voyage in the South Seas in 1684 and the following years with the Filibusters*. Translated and edited by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930, pp. 303, \$6.00.) Raveneau de Lussan was one of the later and lesser buccaneers. His *Journal* was nevertheless worth translating and publishing, both because it possesses intrinsic merit as a participant's account of life among the filibusters and because the earlier editions were either incomplete or very rare. As a "thriller" it does not compare with Exquemelin's stories of L'Ollonais and Henry Morgan. It is rather the prosy reminiscences of one who made a "profession" (to use his own term) of filibustering. Having contracted some debts and wishing, like an honest man, to pay them, he decided to get the necessary money from the Spaniards by buccaneering. Thus he spent the years 1684-1688 plundering Spanish towns on the Pacific coast from the vicinity of Panama to Guayaquil. He returned with gold, pearls, and jewels worth thirty thousand pieces-of-eight, most of which, according to his own statement, he had won from his companions at gambling.

One might reasonably expect a more judicious estimate of Raveneau de Lussan's significance and a more adequate historical setting for the *Journal* than the editor's introduction provides. It is difficult to see what Raveneau de Lussan did for "the permanent advancement of science" (p. 14). His exploits and those of his companions were not so unique as the editor implies, and we can not agree that "what distinguished the French buccaneers from the English . . . was their courtesy to women" (p. 22). While the reviewer has not had an opportunity to compare the translation with the original text, he has noted a few rather obvious slips, such as "pieces-of-eight" for "eight-pounders" (p. 46); "coastal

pirate" for "coastal pilot", and "chaff" for "chafe" (p. 213); and "precipitously" (p. 260) and "precipitiously" (p. 265) for "precipitately". The book contains several illustrations, most of which were reproduced (with proper acknowledgment) from the 1678 Dutch edition of Exquemelin, and an index. It would have been well to include a modern map showing the principal places mentioned in the text.

Cornell University.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

The Massachusetts Bay Company and its Predecessors. By Frances Rose-Troup, F.R.Hist.Soc. (New York, the Grafton Press, 1930, pp. xi, 176, \$4.00.) In a tercentenary year given over to debating the spiritual grandeur of the Puritan founders, it is well to be reminded once more that the Massachusetts Bay Company was in the first instance a commercial company of a familiar type. Mrs. Rose-Troup has taken the pains to examine the printed records to set out in order the stages in its evolution from the earlier Dorchester Company to the Puritan Commonwealth as it existed by 1634. Her claims are not excessive. "The material, meagre though it be, for the history of this period has been chronologically arranged, placed in proper perspective and strung together by inferences and conjectures which it is hoped will be found in every case legitimate, in order to make a clear story of the early work of laying the foundations of the Colony."

Unfortunately the story is not as clear as one might hope. Partly this is the fault of a singularly tangled subject. But the author's style is hardly lucid, and she assumes greater familiarity with the matter than most readers will possess.

At a number of points she challenges received opinions. Emphasizing the religious purposes of the Reverend John White (whose biography she proposes soon to publish), she is scornful of the description of the Dorchester Company's plantation as only a fishing enterprise, and indignantly rejects Dudley's claim that it was the Lincolnshire men who introduced the religious element into the plans for the Bay colony. Under the title of the New England Company she sharply distinguishes the group which took over the defunct Cape Ann plantation from its successor, the Massachusetts Bay Company. Much is made of the opposition within the latter body in 1629 to the transfer of the charter. The author finds an intention to retain some part of the government in England, and indeed heads one chapter *The Government in England*—a doubtful description of the management of the joint stock by the adventurers and undertakers who remained behind. This business continued, we are told, for the full seven years. Perhaps the most useful feature is a list of the adventurers in the Massachusetts Bay Company, with notes on their connection and their investments.

There is some carelessness in noting titles and imprints both in the footnotes and the bibliography.

The University of Michigan.

V. W. CRANE.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1928-June, 1929. Volume LXII. (Boston, the Society, 1930, pp. xvi, 453.) *The Founding of Massachusetts: a Selection from the Sources of the History of the Settlement, 1628-1631.* (*Ibid.*, 1930, pp. 211.) This sixty-second volume of the *Proceedings* consists of two parts. The contents of the first half are of the usual character. The most interesting parts are Mr. W. V. Kellen's memoirs of the late W. B. H. Dowse and of Dr. C. L. Nichols. Mr. W. C. Ford gives an impressive summary of the work of the society's photostat since 1925, with a list of its series of rare Americana reproduced by that means, from no. 135 to no. 261, with which number, and with Mr. Ford's resignation, this notable series apparently ends. Dr. C. E. Banks deals with Bradford's account of Lyford, treating Bradford with a bitterness seldom surpassed in the pages of an historical society. The second half of the volume, also issued as a separate publication, commemorates the founding of Massachusetts and the first few years of the colony by conveniently bringing together the texts of the Charter, the Agreement at Cambridge, Higginson's *True Relacion*, his *New-England's Plantation*, the first year of Winthrop's journal, and *The Planter's Plea*. It is hardly fair to dismiss slightly (twice) the late Dr. James K. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop as "an expurgated edition". Only three passages were omitted from it—the second description of Mrs. Hutchinson's monster, and two descriptions of unnatural wickedness. There was no omission of those evidences of natural iniquity on the part of the Puritans for which there is at present so great a demand. And after all, while we are waiting for the more perfect edition which the society has been discussing since 1898, Dr. Hosmer's is the available one, which readers and students can and do buy and use.

J. F. J.

Anne Hutchinson: a Biography. By Edith Curtis, with an Introduction by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Cambridge, Washburn and Thomas, 1930, pp. xi, 122, \$2.50.) This little book has certain modest merits as biography. It is simply and clearly written in brief chapters which march straight forward from that day in 1634 when Anne Hutchinson first saw Boston and wept, to another day, less than a decade after, when she suffered death from the Indians at Hell Gate. Here, at least, is a competent narrative of a compelling human experience. It is told with sympathy for its troubled—and troubling—subject, but in the main without excessive rancor against her enemies. The author has made no claims to originality. She has frankly gotten her material out of the familiar writings on the Antinomian controversy, chiefly from C. F. Adams.

In his introduction Mr. Howe has found it peculiarly fitting that a woman—and a Rhode Islander, transplanted to Boston—should have written the story of one whose fate it was "to be tried and banished by men". This feminist slant on the problem appears also in Mrs. Curtis's recurrent references to Anne at bay, "badgered by a circle of angry men".

Surely this exaggerates the element of sex antagonism in that old affair. More serious as a distortion of history is the casual way in which the whole politico-theological tumult over Antinomianism is dismissed. Because this age has no concern with such matters, Mrs. Hutchinson is presented as "so harmless a non-conformist", which is precisely what she was not in theocratic Massachusetts. (Indeed the author elsewhere concedes that she was perhaps a danger to the state.) Mrs. Curtis has not tried to understand the issues involved in Anne's heresies. But why should she therefore conclude that they were incomprehensible, even to the mind of the learned John Cotton?

The University of Michigan.

V. W. CRANE.

Town Government in Massachusetts, 1620-1930. By John Fairfield Sly, Lecturer on Government, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. viii, 244, \$2.50.) In this brief but inclusive study of "one of America's most distinguished political experiments", the Massachusetts town meeting, Dr. Sly has served the historian equally with the student of contemporary government. Somewhat more than half his book is history.

He was confronted at the outset by a baffling historical problem, the pursuit of institutional origins through the earliest scanty town and colony records back into that "twilight of institutional development", before 1634, when these sources fail. If he has little to say here that is new, he has at least refrained from the sort of speculation which long muddled these waters. He has, moreover, written an admirable essay in the historiography of the controversy in his chapter, *A Critique of Town Origins*. There he reviews the extensive—and excessive—interpretations which nineteenth century writers, from Alexis de Tocqueville and Richard Frothingham through the school of historians who subscribed to "Germanic origins", placed upon these too meager facts. His conclusions substantiate the considered opinion of Channing, that the towns grew "by the exercise of English common sense combined with the circumstances of the place". The Germanic theory is of course rejected, with the "primordial cell" theory and the charter theory. Ecclesiastical influences upon polity, though not upon policy, are minimized. The pragmatic origins of the town are rightly stressed.

The formative period of town government in Massachusetts coincided with the time of the Great Migration. Sly's survey of the provincial era reveals a remarkably static situation, institutionally, despite the changes in land policy which accompanied commercial development and expansion, and despite greater efforts at central control. Obviously the town meeting was "exceedingly well adapted to frontier conditions as they existed in Massachusetts". It was not so well adapted to the new social order which emerged in the industrial nineteenth century. Hence the pressure for adjustments in the old mechanism of local government, now strongly entrenched, however, by long usage and by the Revolutionary tradition

which made town meeting a bulwark of liberty—and further sanctified by the eulogists of the Jacksonian epoch as the unique palladium of democracy.

It is against a carefully wrought historical background that the author comes, in his later chapters, to an examination of the working of town meeting government to-day and of recent attempts to modify or replace this time honored institution: by commission government, by the town manager, and by the limited town meeting.

V. W. C.

Seth Harding, Mariner: a Naval Picture of the Revolution. By James L. Howard. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xv, 301, \$3.00.) The author of this volume discovers some limitations in his hero as the subject for a naval biography and compares him rather unfavorably with John Paul Jones and Joshua Barry. He finds that Harding more nearly resembles Commodore Samuel Tucker of Massachusetts—"just an honest, God-fearing down-east Yankee with plenty of patriotism and plenty of pluck". His book, he says, brings out some of the difficulties confronting a naval officer of the Revolution that are often neglected by the general historian. As a further justification for the biography, one may add that the experiences of Harding, who was first an officer of the Connecticut navy, then of the Continental navy, and finally master of a merchantman, are quite typical, more typical than those of the brilliant officers and therefore more illuminating for the ordinary aspects of naval history.

The book contains many original materials, reproduced in facsimile, embodied in the narrative, or brought together in the appendix. Of these the most important are the letters of Harding, 1776-1784, and of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, 1776-1778; report of the cruise of the *Eagle*, November 13, 1779; Harding's certificate of Danish citizenship; lists of the crews of the Connecticut warships *Defence* and *Oliver Cromwell*; list of the crew of the Continental warship *Confederacy*; private journal of Captain Joseph Hardy, commander of marines on the *Confederacy*; and a recent letter of John Bassett Moore on United States citizenship. In the main the narrative consists of contemporary materials and explanatory comments. Occasionally these are interspersed with conversations of Harding that bear all the earmarks of modern manufacture. Advantage was taken of the opportunity afforded by the conversations to improve on the old commodore's rather illiterate English. While Mr. Howard was not always able to fill in the gaps where the records failed him, there is good evidence, derived in part from his excellent bibliography, that he industriously tried to do so.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution.

The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania: an Account of the Indian Events in Pennsylvania, of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's War, the Revolutionary War, and the Indian Uprising from 1789 to 1795. By C. Hale Sipe, of the Pittsburgh and Butler Bars; with an Introduction by George P. Donehoo. (Harrisburg, the Telegraph Press, 1929, pp. 793, \$5.00). *Tragedies of the Pennsylvania Frontier*, the subtitle of this companion volume to the author's *Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania*, is really the only apposite title which the volume could bear, for, except in a very limited sense, it is not a history of the Indian wars of Pennsylvania. The author has confined himself to a compilation of apparently all of the accounts of scalplings, murders, burnings, and massacres for which he could find even the remotest shred of authenticity. With the social, economic, and political implications of his subject outside of the mere tragic events he reveals no familiarity. Not, however, until he reaches page 152 does the reader enter the wearying catalogue of tragedies; in the meantime he has been led through chapters on the religion and character of the Pennsylvania Indians, the history of the various tribes, the relations of the Swedes and of William Penn with the Indians, and the principal "Indian Events" from 1701 to 1754.

In these introductory chapters the author relies almost solely upon Heckewelder, accepting that missionary's mild propaganda with almost unbelievably naïve credulity. Whole pages are quoted from his writings; and, in some instances (e.g. pp. 34-37), paragraphs are paraphrased and many sentences given verbatim without acknowledgment. This rather marked dependence is veiled by the author's references to the *Walam Olum* of the Lenni-Lenâpé rather than to Heckewelder.

The volume is based chiefly upon the *Pennsylvania Archives* and *Colonial Records*, though in using even these the author does not seem to show awareness of the fact that they are all white records and that even the speeches made by Indians were written down by white hands. No use was made of the great mass of material in the Penn papers and other important collections such as the Wharton papers and the Israel Pemberton papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; this, of course, is to mention only a few of the sources which the general historian of the Indian wars of Pennsylvania can not afford to overlook.

There are, of course, many gaping lacunae in the field of Pennsylvania history, and for some time there has been observable an awakening of interest in this comparatively neglected area of American history. Much as this is to be encouraged, there is danger that some of the writing will be the product of unscholarly reaction to older viewpoints. A single sentence, not an extreme example, will serve to show the attitude of the author of the present work: "The history of the beginnings in Pennsylvania is as much more glorious than the history of the beginnings in New England as the light of the sun is more glorious than the light of a candle" (p. 67). If this volume is a product of the reaction to generations of New England historians, the greatest culpability of the Adamases

and the Bancrofts does not lie in their overt acts but in the acts which they have inspired.

Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature: a Bibliography of Mennonitica Americana, 1727-1928. By Harold S. Bender, Professor of Church History, Goshen College. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, no. 1.] (Goshen, Mennonite Historical Society, 1929, pp. xii, 181.) The author's purpose is to provide for the "plain reader" a summary of the published literature of the Mennonites in America. The list aims to be exhaustive for the period from 1727 to 1880. After 1880 "smaller items" and non-religious works are omitted. It is the most complete list of its kind. The works (books, dissertations, periodicals, pamphlets, sermons, broadsides, etc.) are arranged chronologically for each of the twelve divisions into which the author has divided Mennonites. It would have been much more convenient for the reader had all the works been arranged in one list; the division of the church to which each author belonged might have been indicated by a symbol. A few typographical errors have been noted. The use of three forms of an author's name in the body of the book and one form only in the index needs some explanation. Most readers need not be informed that the British Museum is in London or that the New York Public Library is in New York, but it is annoying to find it stated that a publication was printed in Berne or Berlin, with no indication that Berne, Indiana, and Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario, are meant. The index is too brief for a reference work. The facsimile reproductions of the title pages of several rare books add to the value of the volume.

Western Reserve University.

JACOB C. MEYER.

History of Coöperative News-Gathering in the United States. By Victor Rosewater. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1930, pp. xiv, 430, \$3.50.) Dr. Victor Rosewater is peculiarly well fitted for the task he has undertaken of writing this first history of American news-gathering agencies, from their earliest prototypes during the first part of the nineteenth century to the present time. His father, an old-time telegrapher and later a prominent newspaper editor, preserved interesting material pertaining to the early struggles of the press associations. Dr. Rosewater himself, after receiving his doctorate at Columbia in 1893, began newspaper work on his father's paper, the *Omaha Bee*, just when the present Associated Press was being organized in Chicago. Since the *Bee* was a charter member of that organization, he was in a position to know at first hand of the contest between that association and the old United Press and later to see the rise of the new United Press and Mr. Hearst's International News Service. He also secured valuable information from such leaders in the beginnings of the Associated Press as the late Melville E. Stone, Frank B. Noyes, and Adolph S. Ochs.

The volume begins with the forerunners of news-gathering agencies, including Samuel Topliff's *Marine and General News Book* in 1811, Harry Blake's gathering of ship news, the rowboats and schooners used by some of the New York papers to secure foreign news from incoming ships, the pony expresses, and the carrier pigeons. It was, of course, the development of the telegraph that led to the first important press association.

Dr. Rosewater has traced back the origin of the Associated Press to 1848, thus settling what has been a moot question in the history of American journalism. This parent association, begun by six New York morning papers, although never incorporated, continued for forty-four years until the rise of the Associated Press of Illinois, established in 1892. The first rules and regulations for the organization, formulated in 1856, are reprinted in an appendix to this volume, as "the Magna Charta of all Associated Presses".

A large part of the book is taken up with a history of the Associated Press and its various affiliated sectional associations, before the last decade of the nineteenth century. The later history of this great coöperative association is also fully presented. A chapter each is devoted to the present United Press, the International News Service, and the supplemental services, including the Consolidated Press and the Federated Press. The volume, which is fully documented, has a six-page bibliography, twenty-eight half-tone portraits of men identified with the development of the news-gathering agencies, and an adequate index.

Dr. Rosewater has done a scholarly piece of historical research, a significant addition to the comparatively small list of important books in their field.

The University of Wisconsin.

WILLARD GROSVENOR BLEYER.

The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, being a Narrative of the Parliament and Councils of the Cape of Good Hope from the founding of the Colony by Van Riebeeck in 1652 to the Union of South Africa in 1910, to which is added a list of Governors from 1652 to 1910 and a complete list of Members from 1825 to 1910. By Ralph Kilpin, Clerk-Assistant of the Union House of Assembly. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1930, pp. xv, 175, \$3.40.) To popularize constitutional history is, at the best of times, no easy task and to create a romance out of its "dry as dust" materials an almost impossible one, yet this is precisely what Ralph Kilpin, Clerk-Assistant of the Union House of Assembly in South Africa, has courageously attempted; but with how great a measure of success remains to be seen. His method of procedure is one not wholly to be commended, it being an endeavor to identify Dutch aims and institutions with British and, where that is not possible, to attribute to the Dutch the initiation of nearly everything that has become permanent or proved salutary in the political development of the Cape. He would have us think that, not only the parliament, but the judiciary had its beginning in Van Riebeeck's day, forgetting that neither antecedents nor forerunners are necessarily ancestors. The refresh-

ment station that the erstwhile ship's surgeon started, under specific instructions from the Dutch East India Company, in 1652, was not a colony or intended as such and the conferences that he held, in typical Dutch fashion, with other skippers or, after 1656, with subordinates at the fort were far from being the Council of Policy later constituted when regular governors had replaced commanders and the settlement had ceased to be a mere depot of supplies. Moreover, the Advisory Council that the Colonial Office conceded in 1825, though it may have borne a close resemblance to the Dutch Council of Policy, was essentially British in inception and just such a thing as had existed in several of the North American colonies and as had been granted to New South Wales only two years previously.

Generally speaking, Kilpin shows in this, as in his earlier work, *The Old Cape House*, a decided tendency to put an over-emphasis upon Dutch achievement and to slur, if not utterly to ignore British. Great leaders, if Dutch, are so designated; if British, they go unremarked. Though no one would seriously dispute that the Boers are freedom loving, it is only by a great stretch of the imagination that their impatience of restraint of any kind can be likened to an English or American struggle for representative government. The limited scope of the book has precluded, apparently, the consideration of all social and economic matters. This is to be regretted, especially as in no country have they been more pronouncedly the foundation of constitutional advance than in South Africa. Could they have had the place given to trivial or irrelevant subjects, the book under review would have been even more interesting than it is; for it is interesting, despite the blemishes that detract from its historical value.

The lists at the end are a notable addition. Their data are accurate and will prove most convenient for reference.

Aberdeen, Washington.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850: a Study of French, British, and American Policy in Relation to the Dictator Juan Manuel Rosas. By John F. Cady, Associate Professor of History, Marshall College. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929, pp. xiv, 296, \$4.00.) This monograph sprang from the study of a phase of American diplomatic history that developed into an investigation of the policies pursued during certain years toward the nations of the Plata basin by England and France. Considerable attention is paid to the resulting policy of the United States. The author has diligently studied the printed material on his topic in leading libraries of America and Europe and has made extensive researches in the archives of London, Paris, and Washington. His volume is equipped with a select, annotated bibliography, which includes "primary sources" and "contemporaneous sources". It contains two useful maps of the lower Plata River. Illuminating quotations are scattered throughout the book.

After a sketch of Argentine history, the author describes the grave difficulties between France and Argentina that resulted in 1838 in a French blockade of the port of Buenos Aires. Then follows an account of the diplomacy of France and England toward Argentina and Uruguay that culminated in 1845 in their armed intervention in the valley of La Plata. The account given of the attitude of the United States toward Anglo-French intervention should interest students of the Monroe Doctrine. The successive attempts of the associated European powers to negotiate a settlement with the wily Argentine dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, are described in detail. Some attention is given to the relation between these efforts and the Old World policies of England and France. Accounts are furnished of the negotiations of such agents as Admiral LePrédour and Henry Southern with the Argentine government; special attention is paid to the diplomacy of Guizot and Palmerston.

Dr. Cady has made a notable contribution to our knowledge of an obscure but significant phase of European relations with South America. He has also made a contribution to our knowledge of the international policy of the enigmatical Rosas. This scholarly monograph should be followed by other studies of the intercourse of European nations with the countries of Spanish and Portuguese America.

The University of Illinois.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

The Origins of the Paraguayan War. By Pelham Horton Box, one time Commonwealth Fund Fellow, University of Illinois, Assistant Lecturer in History at the University of Bristol. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, volume XV., numbers 3, 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1927, pp. 178, 345, \$2.00.) This work reveals the dubious and complicated diplomacy marking relations between Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil before the war of the last three against Paraguay. The scope of the study is shown by the chapter headings: Paraguay and her Neighbors, 1810-1853; the Paraguayan-Brazilian Boundary Question; the Paraguayan-Argentine Boundary Question; Mitre, Flores, and the Blancos; Blancos, Colorados, and Brazil; Blanco Diplomacy and Paraguay; Francisco Solano López and the Breaking of the Storm; the Catastrophe; Conclusion. The book also includes an appendix containing important source material, a good index, five maps in black and white, and an extensive bibliography. The study is founded largely upon original sources, chiefly manuscript materials in the Department of State at Washington and the Public Record Office in London and valuable collections of diplomatic correspondence and documents printed in Latin America. The book is, as a whole, well written, but the excessive repetition by the author of certain favorite words and phrases is rather wearisome.

No new facts or interpretations of first importance are presented by the work, but much new light is shed upon them through the addition of hitherto unknown details, and a new emphasis is the result. That the

Uruguayan Blancos made almost frenzied efforts to get the aid of Francisco López in retaining their hold on the Uruguayan government is very apparent from the study, as is also the fact that the British agents in Montevideo and Buenos Aires labored hard to maintain peace in the Plata basin. Apparently Venancio Flores, the Colorado president of Uruguay, was responsible for the guaranty of Paraguayan independence included in the treaty which allied Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay against Paraguay. The evidence presented also shows that in the years just preceding and following the war against López, Brazil was less greedy for Paraguayan soil than was Argentina. It was disappointing to the reviewer not to find a discussion of the treaty of loans and the treaty of limits made in 1851 between Brazil and Uruguay. But Dr. Box's *Origins of the Paraguayan War* is a valuable study and a welcome addition to the literature of Latin American history.

Goucher College.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Problems of the Pacific, 1929: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 23 to November 9, 1929. Edited by J. B. Condliffe, D.Sc., Research Secretary, Institute of Pacific Relations. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. xi, 697, \$5.00.) To apply the ordinary standards of a review to this meaty and miscellaneous volume would be out of the question. And yet it should be brought to the attention of every student of the affairs of the Pacific and the Far East. It contains a comprehensive record, although only a partial one, of the discussions and the data papers of the most realistic consideration of the problems of the Pacific which has occurred since the Washington Conference. This material is presented in three divisions. The first, 242 pages, is a summary of the discussions at the eight round-tables. The second, 374 pages, is a selection of fifteen from the hundred or more data papers prepared for the conference. And the remainder of the book consists of six appendixes bearing upon the organization and proceedings of the meeting. As in the two preceding conferences, China received the major attention. Of the eight round-tables, four were concerned solely with China, and her affairs were prominently considered in the others, while of the fifteen data papers assembled here, thirteen deal with Chinese problems. In preparing the summaries of the round-table and general discussions the editor, Dr. Condliffe, has achieved a notable success. To organize and present in effective form the great mass of materials at his disposal was no easy task.

Some idea of the contents of the volume may be suggested by a reference to the treatment of the Manchurian problem, which was the most important of all the subjects considered by the conference. The chairmen who presided at this round-table were Roland W. Boyden and James G. McDonald (United States), Lord Hailsham (Great Britain), and Hon. Newton W. Rowell (Canada). The summary covers fifty-six

pages. The data papers include *Manchuria: a Statistical Survey of Its Resources, Industries, Trade, Railways, and Immigration*, by Chu Hsiao (43 pp.); *Chinese Colonization and the Development of Manchuria*, by C. Walter Young (44 pp.); the *Manchurian Question*, by Shuhsi Hsu (58 pp.); *Japan's Position in Manchuria*, by Masamichi Royama (70 pp.); and *Manchuria, its Past and Present*, by Yosuke Matsuoka (8 pp.). Of these authors, Dr. Matsuoka, formerly vice-president of the South Manchuria Railway Company, unquestionably was the most familiar with actual conditions, but his statement was brief and of a general nature. The other four were recognized students of the question, and, with the exception of Dr. Hsu they prepared well documented treatises. The material on Manchuria alone would make a sizable volume, and no comparable statement of recent conditions in that disputed land is so accessible. That so controversial a subject could be discussed by Japanese and Chinese in the old capital of Japan is a tribute to the fine spirit of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Four maps and an index add to the usefulness of the volume.

P. J. T.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Boston on December 29, 30, and 31. The headquarters are at the Copley Plaza Hotel. The chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements is Francis R. Hart.

The program as provisionally arranged by the chairman of the committee, Professor R. H. Gabriel, is as follows. The topic for the General session will be the Problems of the Young Scholar, which will be discussed by Wallace Notestein and C. R. Fish. The session on Ancient and Medieval history, with the Archæology of Hellenistic-Roman cities as the theme, will include papers by A. R. Bellinger on Yale Excavations at Doura; by A. E. R. Boak on Michigan Excavations at Karanis; and by C. J. Kraemer. At the session on Medieval Science, Lynn Thorndike will speak on the Corpus of Medieval Scientific Writings. In dealing with Feudalism and Serfdom, A. E. Prince will discuss the Eclipse of Feudal Service in England; S. K. Mitchell, Tallage; and Carl Stephenson, Serf and Burgess. For general European history there will be sessions on the Reformation, the French Revolution, Eastern Europe, and Europe in Africa. Hastings Eells will speak on Bucer, and Albert Hyma on the Protestant Revolt. The session on the French Revolution is not yet ready for announcement. In considering Eastern Europe, R. B. Merriman and R. H. Lord will discuss the work of the late Professor Coolidge; R. J. Kerner will speak on the Straits Question. For Africa, G. F. Andrews will deal with North Africa; A. N. Cook, British Nigeria; A. P. Scott, Kenya; and H. R. Rudin, the German Cameroons. In the session on English history there will be a Survey of the most important Tasks still to be Completed, with papers by Conyers Read on the years 1485-1603; by E. A. Beller, on 1603-1714; and W. T. Laprade, 1714-1815. The session on the Far East will include papers by W. J. Hail on a Comparison of the Twentieth Century Chinese Nationalist Movement with the Taiping Rebellion; by G. H. Blakeslee, on Japanese Foreign Policy; and G. H. Ryden, the United States and Samoa. In the field of American history the sessions on Hispanic America and on New England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries are not ready for announcement. Organized Religion in American Life will be the subject of a session, with papers by G. Barnes, on the Sources of the Anti-Slavery Movement in the Great Revival; by L. G. Vander Velde, on the Presbyterian Church and the Crisis of 1861; T. M. Whitfield, Southern Methodism and Slavery; and H. U. Faulkner, Recent Tendencies in the Social Gospel. At the session on New Viewpoints in Southern History, papers will be read by W. E. Dodd on the First Social Upheaval in America; P. S. Flippin, on Herschel

V. Johnson and the Opposition to the Secession Movement in Georgia; and J. L. Sellers, the Co-relation of the Salt and Food Supplies of the Confederacy. In Western history there will be a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the program for which is under charge of its committee. Upon Maritime history papers will be read by R. E. Peabody, on Development of the American Merchant Marine since 1914; by R. G. Albion, on New York and its Disgruntled Rivals, 1815-1860; and T. J. Wertenbaker, Virginia and the West Indian Trade. There will also be a session organized by the Committee on Research in Colleges. Other sessions under the auspices of the Committee on the Social Studies in the Schools will deal with the problems of teaching in the colleges as well as in the elementary and secondary schools.

The *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association for 1927 and 1928 have now been printed in one volume, which is ready for distribution.

PERSONAL

This journal was in press before the sad news came of the death on September 1, of the vice-president of the American Historical Association, Professor Ephraim Douglass Adams, of Stanford University. It is possible here to note only a few elements of a remarkable career. His graduate as well as his undergraduate studies were carried on at the University of Michigan. Before he went to Stanford University in 1902 he had served the University of Kansas for ten years. In 1910 he delivered the Albert Shaw Lectures at Johns Hopkins University on British Activities in Texas. Three years later he gave at Yale University the Dodge Lectures on the Power of Ideals in American History. His most notable historical work was *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (2 vols., 1925). As director of the Hoover War Library he has been instrumental in building up the most important existing collection on the World War. It was expected that he would become the next president of the Association.

Eduard Meyer, the eminent historian of antiquity, died on August 31, at the age of 75. He had been professor at the University of Berlin since 1902, after brief terms of service at Leipzig, Breslau, and Halle. Among his many historical writings the best known is the *Geschichte des Altertums*, of which several editions have appeared. He also wrote the *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, published in 1920-1922. In 1909, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Historical Association, he was one of a notable group of foreign guests.

Henry R. Seager, professor of Political Economy at Columbia University, died on August 23, at Kiev. He had undertaken with a group of economists to examine on the ground the operation of the Soviet five-year economic program.

Three of the biographical sketches or commemorative essays by which the British Academy is wont to pay tribute to members recently deceased have lately been issued as "separates" from volumes XIV.-XVI. of its *Proceedings* and are of especial interest to students of history: that on Lord Haldane, by Professor A. S. Pringle-Pattison; that on Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, by Sir Frederic Kenyon; and that on Lord Rosebery, by John Buchan (London, Humphrey Milford).

It is proposed to raise a fund in memory of the late Professor T. F. Tout, to be called the Tout Memorial Publication Fund, to assist the publication of historical works by the Manchester University Press, in the promotion of which he was the guiding spirit. The sponsors of the memorial announce that the nucleus of such a fund has already been formed from the proceeds of the volume of *Essays in Mediæval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (1925). Subscriptions may be sent to H. M. McKechnie, the University Press, 23 Lime Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester.

The new administrator of the Bibliothèque Nationale, taking the place of M. Pierre Roland-Marcel, recently appointed prefect of the Bas-Rhin, is M. Julien Cain, who has been chief of the service of the foreign press at the Quai d'Orsay and director of the office of the president of the Chamber of Deputies.

The gold medal of the Royal Empire Society, for the best book published in 1929 on any subject dealing with economics, history, politics, or science within the Empire has been awarded to Professor Chester W. New, of McMaster University, Hamilton, for his work entitled *Lord Durham: a Biography*.

The first prize Gobert has been awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres to M. Alain de Boüard's *Manuel de Diplomatique Française et Pontificale*, reviewed in the July number of this journal (p. 907). The Académie has also given a medal to Mlle. Bezard for her *La Vie Rurale dans le Sud de la Région Parisienne de 1450 à 1560*, reviewed in the same number (p. 838).

A new chair of Modern history has been established in the University of Cambridge, and to it Harold Temperley has been appointed. It will be recalled that the Regius professorship is held by G. M. Trevelyan. Dr. Lillian Penson, lecturer at Birkbeck College, has been made Professor of Modern history in the University of London. H. Hale Bellot, Reader in Modern history in the University of Manchester, holds the new chair of American history in the University of London, which was endowed by the Commonwealth Fund and other benefactors.

The students and friends of the Russian statesman and historian, P. N. Milyukov, have honored his seventieth birthday by presenting him a volume of *Mélanges* published in Prague. Among the contributors are Edouard Beneš, M. I. Rostovtzeff, M. A. Taube, and A. F. Meyendorff. The volume is in Russian, except the articles written by Czechs, which are in their own language.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes has resigned as professor of historical sociology at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., to become general editorial writer for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. He will deal especially with historical and sociological topics. He will continue to give courses on the history of civilization at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

Professor W. T. Morgan, who has been working for the past year upon manuscript material in England, Holland, and France, has returned to Indiana University.

Clyde L. Grose, associate professor of European history, at Northwestern University, has resigned the directorship of the summer session, which he has held for the past eight years, and will devote his entire time henceforth to the department of history.

Among the scholars who have recently been working at the Huntington Library by invitation of its trustees are: Dr. William H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins, interested in the history of medicine; Dr. and Mrs. Charles Singer of London, who examined material relating to the history of science, and Sir William Beveridge, of the London School of Economics, chairman of the International Committee on the History of Prices, who, with his assistants, worked on early English manuscript sources of information on price levels. Professor Frederick J. Turner is to remain as a Research Associate during the current year, and Professor Charles R. Baskervill, of the University of Chicago, as Research Associate, is to work upon the political and social ideas of Shakespeare. Professor Godfrey Davies, of the University of Chicago, is to act for the year in an editorial capacity for the library, succeeding Professor George W. Sherburn, also of Chicago, who during the past year has been engaged especially in preparing material for the first number of the Huntington Library *Bulletin*. This *Bulletin* will contain the first comprehensive authoritative description of the library collections.

We note the following information in regard to departments of history, in addition to the items printed in the July issue: *Dartmouth College*, W. E. Stevens and W. R. Waterman to be professors, A. H. Meneely to be assistant professor, T. P. Brockway, of St. Johns College, to be assistant professor for the year, Professor C. R. Lingley to be relieved of teaching duties to be acting Dean of Freshmen for the year; *Clark University*, Professor George Young, well-known English diplomat, for the first semester; *Wesleyan University*, Professor G. M. Dutcher who has been on leave during the past year to resume his teaching, E. E. Schattschneider, of the Women's College of New Jersey, to be assistant professor; *New York University*, Ralph G. Lounsbury to be assistant professor; *Syracuse University*, Professor E. E. Sperry, on leave of absence for the year, Professor E. P. Tanner to return to teaching duties; *George Washington University*, A. C. Wilgus, of the University of South Carolina, to be associate professor; *University of North Carolina*, Loren C. MacKinney, of Louisiana State University, to be professor;

University of South Carolina, Erik Achorn and E. T. Bonn to be associate professors; *Rollins College*, C. R. Oldham, of Oxford University, England, to be associate professor; *Vanderbilt University*, W. C. Binkley, of Colorado College, to be professor of history and head of the department; *Miami University*, Howard Robinson to be acting dean of the College of Liberal Arts as well as professor of history, F. B. Joyner to be associate professor, and H. N. Howard, of the University of Oklahoma, to be assistant professor; *Ohio Wesleyan*, C. E. VanSickle, of Franklin College, to be associate professor; *University of Chicago*, J. A. O. Larsen, of Ohio State University, to be associate professor; *University of Missouri*, Elmer Ellis to be assistant professor; *University of California*, J. J. Van Nostrand to be professor; *University of California at Los Angeles*, L. K. Koontz and R. H. Harvey to be associate professors, J. W. Olmsted and R. D. Hussey to be assistant professors, Waldemar Westergaard to be on leave during the first semester, Prince André Labanov-Rostovsky to be lecturer on Russian history; *University of Southern California*, G. P. Hammond to be associate professor; *Stanford University*, C. F. Brand to be associate professor, David Harris, of the University of South Carolina, to be assistant professor, Thomas A. Bailey, of the University of Hawaii, to be assistant professor for the year 1930-1931; *Oregon State College*, P. H. Giddens to be assistant professor; *University of Washington*, D. G. Barnes, of the University of Oregon, to be professor; *Washington State College*, F. J. Bowman to be assistant professor.

Janet Woodburn Wiecking, whose work for this journal during the past year has been of much value, has resigned. She will be at Cambridge during the coming year. Her work will be carried on by Dr. Phoebe A. Heath, who has held the historical fellowship at the Library of Congress for the year 1929-1930.

GENERAL

The *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for June makes an impressive presentation of the schemes of coöperative research now being carried out in such fields as the history of science and of modern literature. It also presents a long (62 pp.) and useful general survey of the history of the age of voyages and discovery, its origins, development, and consequences, by Professor Eugène Déprez, of the University of Rennes.

Among the recent schemes of international coöperation in scientific research is the committee on the history of prices, whose work is subventioned for a period of five years by the Rockefeller Foundation. Sir William Beveridge is chairman, and three of the other members are Professor Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University, Professor Henri Hauser, of the Sorbonne, and Professor A. F. Pribram, of the University of Vienna.

Pope Pius XI. has created an historical section of the Congregation of Rites. Its head is Dom Henri Quentin, member of the Commission

of the Vulgate and professor at the papal archæological institute. One of the members of the section or commission is Georges Goyau, author of the remarkable volume VI., *Histoire Religieuse* in M. Hanotaux's *Histoire de la Nation Française*.

Attention is called to the publication of Michael Buchberger's useful *Das Kirchliches Handlexikon* in a new, revised edition under the title *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, vol. I., pp. x, 991).

The *Journal of Economic and Business History* for August presents discussions over the whole sweep of economic phenomena from the Risk in Sea Loans in Ancient Athens, by George M. Calhoun, to the Financial Management of the Cattle Ranges, by Louis Pelzer. An article of special interest because it undertakes a revision of traditional views is *Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration*, in which the author seeks to show that the success of that movement economically, rather than its failure politically, resulted in emigration to America in the years following. The economic transition with the necessity of compounding for feudal dues was too much for the small holder, and to him America became a refuge.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July opens with a paper on the Parliaments of the Middle Ages, which Robert H. Lord presented at the December meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. Dr. Lord contends that attention has been concentrated too exclusively upon the growth of the English Parliament, the French States General, and, perhaps, the Spanish Cortes. He believes that a more comprehensive view of the movement must be taken, and lists twenty-six parliaments which appeared between 1188, the first being that of León, and 1613, when Russia developed a parliament. The English Parliament of 1295 is midway in the list. In a second article Professor Francis S. Betten defends Innocent III. against the charge of fomenting civil strife in Germany through rival claimants to the imperial throne. The question, Did a Priest Accompany Columbus? Miss E. Ward Loughran answers in the negative.

The most recent pamphlets of the British Academy, put forth in advance of publication in volume XVI. of its *Proceedings*, are a group of *Seleucid-Parthian Studies* by W. W. Tarn; a discourse by Professor F. M. Powicke on *Robert Grosseteste and the Nichomachean Ethics*, endeavoring to show, from Merton MS. A.3.2, that bishop's share in the earliest Latin translation and comment; and an entertaining paper, the Academy's annual Italian Lecture, on *Wandering Englishmen in Italy* by Mrs. George M. Trevelyan (London, Humphrey Milford).

The first number of the *Analecta Hibernica* was issued in March. It is under the joint editorship of Professor Eoin MacNeill and Professor James Hogan, and is a medium of publication of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, which was created in October, 1928. This number is made up chiefly of reports upon the Rawlinson papers preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, many of which touch Irish affairs.

A textbook based on the lectures at Oxford of the late H. W. C. Davis, and edited by G. N. Clark, has been published by the Dial Press under the title *Europe from 800 to 1789* (pp. xv, 319, \$3.50).¹

The New York Public Library desires nos. 3 and 5 of vol. I. of the *Papers* of the American Historical Association in order to complete its files.

Two books of general interest are: *Family Origins and other Studies*, by the late J. Horace Round, edited with a memoir and bibliography, by William Page (London, Constable, 25 s.); Donald Lindsay Galbreath, *A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, Part I., *Papal Heraldry* (Cambridge, Heffer, 42 s.).

Articles of interest: Robert L. Schuyler, *Law and Accident in History* (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); R. Mondolfo, C. B. and Giuseppe Rensi, *Razionalità e Irrazionalità della Storia* (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, Jan.-Apr.); Alfred V. Martin, *Zur Kultursociologischen Problematik der Geistesgeschichte; im Speziellen Hinblick auf die Ausgänge des Mittelalters* [a study of the types exemplified by Joachim of Floris and Giovanni Villani] (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLII. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Vol. VIII. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is in press. Its title will be *Rome and the Older Great Powers*, and it will cover the period from the opening of the Second Punic War to the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, a notable century. The third volume of plates to accompany vols. VII. and VIII. will be published at the same time.

The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania will support five expeditions in the Near East during the coming archaeological season, 1930-1931. The work of the Coxe expedition at the IVth Dynasty Pyramid, Meydum, Egypt, will be continued under the direction of Alan Rowe. The joint expedition of the University Museum and the British Museum at Ur of the Chaldees will enter upon its ninth season under the direction of C. Leonard Woolley. The University Museum will again participate with Harvard and the Bagdad School in the excavations at Tar Khalan (Nuzi) near Kukuk, Iraq. A new expedition will begin work at Tell Billa near Khorsakad, northern Iraq, supported jointly by the American School of Oriental Research at Bagdad and the University Museum and the University of Pennsylvania, under the direction of Dr. E. A. Speiser. The excavations at Beisan, Palestine (the Biblical Bethshan), suspended during the season 1929-1930, will be resumed; Gerald M. Fitzgerald will be field director. H. H. F. J.

During the winter 1929-1930 the University of Michigan expedition in Egypt continued its excavations on the site of the Fayum town of Karanis. For the greater part of the season intensive work was carried

¹ The date of publication of books mentioned in the section of Historical News is 1930 unless otherwise stated.

on in the neighborhood of the temple of Pnepheros and Petesuchos, first identified by Grenfell and Hunt in 1895, with the object of tracing the history of this area. Below the level of the present stone temple there were brought to light the temenos walls of an earlier, presumably a mud-brick, temple, which in turn were built upon the ruins of still earlier buildings. All traces of the earlier temple itself had disappeared. The earliest structures on the site seem to date unquestionably from the Ptolemaic period, whereas the stone temple was dedicated in the time of Nero. Extensive reconstructions have been traced in the temple court, and three interesting buildings were found belonging to the temple complex. These were equipped with tile drains and presumably were used in lustration ceremonies connected with the temple cult. Among the special finds was an inscription recording a dedication of the year 73 A.D. made to Pnepheros and Petesuchos in honor of the emperors Vespasian and Titus and the Caesar Domitian. Domitian's name had subsequently suffered erasure. Work will be resumed at the site in October of this year.

A. E. R. B.

On July 28 the corner stone was laid for the Oriental Institute's new headquarters building on the University of Chicago campus. In this building will center all the activities of the institute, which extend from Turkey on the north to Upper Egypt and the northern Sudan on the south. The institute is also erecting on the east bank of the Nile between Luxor and Karnak a group of buildings of permanent construction in California-Spanish style. This unit will serve not only as a general headquarters for Egypt but will furnish an opportunity for training a younger generation of orientologists in every phase of scientific field methods in archaeology and epigraphy.

C. B.

In the *Revue Biblique*, XXXIX. 1, R. Montet discusses the Egyptian cities of Tanis, Avaris, and Pi-Ramesses, and L. H. Vincent, under the title of *Un Nouveau Sinai Biblique*, locates Sinai at Petra.

In the *Zeitschrift f. d. Alttest. Wissensch.*, VII. 2, 3, W. M. Nicolsky discusses the right of asylum in Israel, and A. C. Welsh the share of North Israel in the restoration of temple worship. H. M. Wiener deals with The Conquest Narratives in the *Journal of the Palestine-Oriental Society*.

The French Ministry of Public Instruction has published vol. XXII. of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse* with the title *Actes Juridiques Susiens* (Paris, Leroux, pp. vi, 200, 200 fr.). This volume belongs to the series of the *Mission en Susiane*, which opened with vol. XIV. of the general series.

Upon the subject of Greek historical writing there are several recent suggestive discussions. S. P. Widmann has made a report on the literature dealing with Thucydides for 1926-1929 in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, vol. CCXXV. Other articles are J. Hatzfeld, *Notes sur la Composition des Helléniques* (*Revue de Philologie*, Apr.); K. M. T. Chrimes, *Herodotus and the Reconstruction of History* (*Journal of Hellenic Stud-*

ies, 1930, 1); O. Regenbogen, Herodot und sein Werk (*Die Antike*, VI. 3); W. K. Prentice, How Thucydides wrote his History (*Classical Philology*, Apr.).

Questions relating to the Peloponnesian War are dealt with in the following articles: H. T. Wade-Gery, The Year of the Armistice, 423 B. C., *Classical Quarterly* for January, and the Ratio of Silver to Gold during the Peloponnesian War, *I. G. I.*² 301, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1930, 1; W. Kolbe, Das Athenisch-argivische Bündnis von 416 v. Chr. G., in *Classical Philology* for April; B. D. Merritt, the Departure of Alcibiades for Sicily, in *American Journal of Archaeology* for April-June; and H. W. Parke, the Development of the Second Spartan Empire, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1930, 1.

In the *Athenaeum* for April, V. Constanza writes on the Macedonian constitution, while in the July number A. Passerini describes social reforms and divisions of property in the Greece of the fourth century B.C.

Upon the sources of Roman history the following discussions are of value: E. T. Salmon, Historical Elements in the Story of Coriolanus (*Classical Quarterly*, Apr.); R. Zimmerman, Die Quellen Plutarchs in der Biographie des Marcellus, and, Zum Geschichtswerk des Florus (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1930, 1). In Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, vol. CCXXVI. F. Hache reviews the literature concerning Suetonius for the decade 1918-1928, and in vol. CCXXVII. O. Leuze reports on the literature touching Roman chronology for the period 1901-1928.

There are several recent discussions of Roman legal and institutional questions: Tenney Frank, Livy and Festus on the Pupinian Tribe (*American Journal of Philology*, Jan.); J. N. Hough, The Lex Lutatia and the Lex Plautia de Vi (*ibid.*, Apr.); H. Hill, Livy's Account of the Equites (*Classical Philology*, July); and S. Solazzi, Gaio e la Legge Junia Vellaea (*Athenaeum*, Jan.).

In the July *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is an account of the Vergilian exhibition of manuscripts and printed books assembled there in connection with the celebration this month of Vergil's birth two thousand years ago. An article on Vergil, the Man and his Works, by Professor Charles Knapp of Columbia, is followed by a catalogue of the works and manuscripts. Many of these are lent by Princeton University and by private collectors.

The seventieth birthday of Walther Judeich, professor of Ancient history at Jena, was celebrated by the presentation of a *Festschrift* (Weimar, 1929, Hermann Böhlau, 15 M.) to which many of his colleagues contributed. The editors are Alexander Cartellieri, Albert Leitzmann, and Theodor Meyer-Steineg. As Professor Judeich's principal work is *Topographie von Athen*, it is appropriate that the volume should open with an essay on the Oldest City Walls of Athens, by Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Professor Meyer-Steineg contributes an interesting article on the Doctor and the State in the Ancient World, bringing out the fact that in

oriental countries physicians were classed with priests, while in Greece they constituted an independent guild and were in Rome at first Greek slaves. Professor Cartellieri's contribution deals with Otto III., Kaiser der Römer, and this is also issued separately.

Articles to be noted: M. Wellmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Medizin im Altertum* (Hermes, July); S. Langdon, *Double Dating in the Reigns of Rimsin and Hammurabi* (Revue d'Assyriologie, XXVII. 2); R. P. Dougherty, *The Babylonian Principle of Suretyship as administered by Temple Law* (American Journal of Semitic Languages, XLVI. 2); Amelia Hertz, *Die Kultur um den Persischen Golf und ihre Ausbreitung* (Klio, Beiheft VII.); P. Kretschmer, *Zur Frage der Griechischen Namen in den Hethitischen Texten* (Glotta, XVIII. 3-4); R. Dussaud, *La Lydie et ses Voisins* (Babyloniaca, XI. 2-3); A. W. Gomme, *Some Notes on Fifth Century History* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1930, 1); O. Viedebantt, *Forschungen zur Altpeeloponnesischen Geschichte: Elis und Pisatis* (Philologus, LXXXV. 1); S. B. Smith, *The Athenian "Proedroi"* (Classical Philology, July); C. A. Robinson, jr., *When did Alexander reach the Hindu Kush?* (American Journal of Philology, Jan.); F. Geyer, *Eufoia in den Wirren der Diadochenzeit* (Philologus, LXXXV. 2); V. Ehrenberg, *Zur Verfassungsurkunde von Kyrene* (Hermes, July); W. Kolbe, *The Neutrality of Delos* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1930, 1); P. Tamborini, *La Vita Economica nella Roma degli ultimi Re* (Athenaeum, July); F. Cumont, *Un Rescrit Impériale sur la Violation de Sépulture* (Revue Historique, Mar.); F. Schehl, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Antoninus Pius* (Hermes, Apr.); C. E. Van Sickel, *The Public Works of Africa in the Reign of Diocletian* (Classical Philology, Apr.).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century, Some Recent Interpretations* (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, July).

Speculum for July opens with the address of the president of the Mediaeval Academy, John Matthews Manly, at its fifth annual meeting on April 26. Dr. Manly's subject was Humanistic Studies and Science. After stating those fundamental conceptions upon which any adequate study of a period like the Middle Ages was dependent, Dr. Manly passed to the needs of research, and incidentally found some incongruity between the expenditure of such vast sums upon the "discovery and reconstruction of the life of man in remote antiquity" and the "failure of the intelligent public to recognize in equal measure the claims upon its interest of those great ages which lie so near us". Dr. Manly's successor as president is Professor Dana C. Munro. An article which will have a wide appeal deals with the Origins of the Legend of Romeo and Juliet in Italy. Its author is Olin H. Moore. In this number also Kenneth John Conant makes a further report of the results of the Academy's excavations on the site of the Abbey Church at Cluny.

The Mediaeval Academy has initiated two projects, for which it has received grants from the American Council of Learned Societies. The first is a study of the English Government at work, 1327-1336, the aim of which will be the description of actual methods of transacting business and the practical relations between different branches, especially the local and central administrations. Work upon this study is under the direction of Professor James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, who will be assisted by a group of fourteen medievalists, three of them holding positions in English universities. The Academy's Monograph series will be the medium of publication. The second project is concerned with a Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, and is expected to lead to a better understanding of usages which have perpetuated themselves to the present time. Professor N. S. B. Gras, of Harvard University, is to direct this work.

The *Progress of Medieval Studies in America, Bulletin No. 8*, edited by James F. Willard, which is published jointly by the Mediaeval Academy of America and the University of Colorado, contains, besides the reports made to the corporation and an account of the fifth annual meeting, lists of books on medieval subjects published by American authors in 1929, of forthcoming books, and of medievalists and their publications, articles as well as books, for the same year. During Professor Willard's leave of absence the *Bulletin* is to be edited by Professors Irene P. McKeehan and Erwin F. Meyer.

Among publications stimulated by the fourteenth centenary of the monastery at Monte Cassino may be mentioned the following: Stephanus Hilpisch, *Geschichte des Benediktinischen Mönchtums in ihren Grundzügen Dargestellt* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1929, pp. x, 434); *Benediktinisches Klosterleben in Deutschland; Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by the Abtei Maria Laach (Berlin, St. Augustinus Verlag, 1929); Placido Lugano, *L'Italia Benedettina* (Rome, Ferrari, 1929, pp. xx, 618); *Mélanges Publiés par les Abbayes Bénédictines de la Congrégation Belge à l'Occasion du XIV^e Centenaire de la Fondation du Mont-Cassin, 529-1929* (reprinted from *Revue Liturgique et Monastique*, Maredsous, 1929, pp. 270).

The plan for the publication of a *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*, according to the announcement of Professor George Lacombe, of the Catholic University of America, secretary of the commission in charge, calls first for the medieval Latin translations of Aristotle. Arrangements have been made to secure the coöperation of scholars in all countries.

To the Berkshire Studies in European History has been added a volume on the *Organisation of Medieval Christianity*, by Summerfield Baldwin (New York, Henry Holt, 1929, pp. x, 105, \$.85). The author explains in his foreword that his treatment is based upon the hypothesis of Rudolf Sohm, "a development in the idea of the Church from that of a sacrament to that of a corporation". The first chapter, about one third

of the book, deals with the fundamental aspects of the Christian life, including the place of the Bible, of acts of prayer, and of miracles. The final section of the second chapter, *From Mystery to Society*, illustrates the point of view.

In *English Religious Life in the Eighth Century*, Thomas Allison (London, S. P. C. K.; New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp xvi, 154, \$2.00) has brought together the light which contemporary letters throw upon such subjects as the Episcopate, Monastic Life, Learning, and Social Life. He presents a clear picture of the situation, but leaves the reader with the regret that space seemed to forbid longer quotations from the letters themselves.

The aim of Ruth E. Messenger's work on *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England* (New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 210, \$3.50) is to determine what is distinctive for the culture of the Middle Ages in this hymnology, eliminating elements which belong to Christian thought and feeling of all the ages.

The catalogue of the *Armoury of the Castle of Churburg*, by Oswald Graf Trapp, translated by James Gow Mann (London, Methuen, £4 14 s. 6 d.) is of unique interest to students of armor, because this collection has been guarded from the gaze of the collector and even of the expert. It is composed of the pieces made for their personal use by the Bailiffs of Matsch and the Counts Trapp, their heirs, and represents some of the greatest armorers of Milan, Innsbruck, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. Many pieces still retain their old leathering, rivets, buckles, and linings.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Balduinus de Gaiffier, *Vita Beati Raimundi Lulli* [the earliest Life, written in the fourteenth century by an anonymous author, here reprinted in entirety, with critical notes] (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII. 1-2); Hippolyte Delehaye, *Loca Sanctorum* [extensive inventory of dedications in Western Europe] *ibid.*

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The articles in the September number of the *Journal of Modern History* are: the Ways of Communication between Russia and Georgia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by M. Polyevktov; the British West Indies during King William's War (1689-1697), by W. T. Morgan; and the Evolution of a Terrorist: Georges Auguste Couthon, by Geoffrey Bruun. The bibliographical articles are listed elsewhere.

In *Medieval Slavdom and the Rise of Russia* [Berkshire Studies in European History] (New York, Henry Holt, pp. xii, 132, \$1.00). Frank Nowak, assistant professor of History in Boston University, presents a brief account of the Slavic peoples and states which is readable as well as instructive, and so meets the requirements of the useful series to which it belongs. About half the volume is given to Peter the Great and Catherine. Readers of Waliszewski's *Peter* may feel that the Czar's monstrous peculiarities have been covered by too deep a coat of varnish.

For example, in a sentence which describes the execution of the Streltsi Mr. Nowak writes of "Peter himself wielding the executioner's ax with much gusto". The volume closes with a clear and balanced account of the three partitions of Poland.

Students of the eighteenth century will be interested in *La Signora d'Épinay e l'Abate Galiani; Lettere Inedite, 1769-1772* with introduction and notes by Fausto Nicolini (Bari, Laterza, 1929, pp. 399), being a part of a collection of some 450 letters from Madame d'Épinay to various correspondents, formerly owned by the editor's family and now in the possession of the Società Storica Napoletana.

The career of Rossi, regarded in his day as the typical bourgeois economist, was striking also in the political field; here he served four governments, those of Murat, Geneva, the Orleanist monarchy (whose official apologist he became, as professor of constitutional law at Paris) and the pope. It was his assassination while in the papal service that turned Pius IX. from a reformer into a reactionary. His life and economic doctrines are recounted by the Hungarian historian László Leder-mann in *Pellegrino Rossi, l'Homme et l'Économiste, 1787-1848: une Grande Carrière Internationale au XIX^e Siècle, avec de Nombreux Documents Inédits* (Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1929, pp. 376).

The author of *Modern Political Constitutions*, Dr. C. F. Strong (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. xviii, 385, \$3.50) recognizes the importance of the historical as well as the comparative method of approach in dealing with the many aspects of his theme. After an introductory chapter in which he defines his terms he sketches rapidly the Origin and Growth of the Constitutional State. He then classifies constitutions by types, and marks out their significant features, illustrating each from historical examples drawn especially from the recent period.

The student of nationality will find a valuable instrument in the *Collection of Nationality Laws of Various Countries as contained in Constitutions, Statutes, and Treaties*, edited by Richard W. Flournoy, jr., and Manley O. Hudson (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xxiii, 776, \$4.00). It is one of the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law. The last country of the sixty-three on the list is the Vatican City, the provisions of which with regard to nationality will be read with curious interest.

Certain of the statesmen at Paris who permitted the mandate system to be embodied in the Treaty of Versailles doubtless consoled themselves with the thought that after all annexation is annexation, however qualified or veiled by idealistic phrases. But the world seems inclined to take the system seriously and about it is growing up an increasing literature. In *The International Mandates*, Aaron A. Margolith (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 242, \$2.50) divides attention between the historical and juridical aspects of the problem.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Robert Davidsohn, *Die Tragik der Renaissance* [unsettled political conditions reflected in artistic and literary

pessimism] (Preussische Jahrbücher, June); Alfred Stern, *Der Pazifismus im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Europäische Gespräche, June); Albert Mathiez, *La Place de Montesquieu dans l'Histoire des Doctrines Politiques du XVIII^e Siècle* [before 1789, had most influence on Parlements and liberal nobles; after 1789, on Feuillants; after Thermidor, on Clichy group] (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, Mar.); Henri Bédarida, *L'Emprise Autrichienne sur Parme et l'Italie à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle, 1768-1796* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIV. 1); M. de Taube, *Le Tsar Paul I et l'Ordre de Malte en Russie* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, May); Léon Deries, *La Captivité du Baron Paul de Krüdener, Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Russie, Septembre, 1812-Décembre, 1813* [son of Mme. de Krüdener, whose influence upon Alexander I. is well known] (Revue des Études Historiques, Apr.); Camille Piccioni, *Le Général Sébastiani, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et Ambassadeur à Londres [1830-1840]* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIV. 1); Bernard Faÿ, *Une Paix sans Victoire; la Paix de 1783* (ibid. 2); Émile Lesueur, *Les Débuts du Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne-Lauragais dans la Carrière Diplomatique; les Français à Rome en 1849* (ibid.); Adolf Törngren, *Die Entwicklung der Finnisch-Russischen Beziehungen seit dem Dorpater Frieden* [Oct. 14, 1920] (Europäische Gespräche, July); Admiral Sir Richard Webb, *Freedom of the Seas* [Inaugural Address at the annual meeting of the British Historical Association on Jan. 2] (History, Apr.).

THE WORLD WAR

To the French documents on the origin of the World War has now been added vol. II. of the first series. This covers the period from July, 1875, to the close of the year 1879.

The concluding parts of vol. I., Austrian official history of the World War, *Oesterreich-Ungarns Letzter Krieg* (Vienna, Verlag der Militärwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen) deal first with the summer campaign of Lemberg which resulted in the seemingly utter overthrow of the Austrians under Conrad. It appears that at one time Conrad was on the point of ordering a retreat to the "bridgehead at Budapest" and again to the "Danube line, Vienna-Budapest". Russian changes of plan saved him. The last section treats the Krakau, Limanowa-Lapanow campaign.

The problem of the extent of the Kaiser's effective authority during the World War is the subject of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Niemann's *Kaiser und Heer, das Wesen der Kommandogewalt und ihre Ausübung durch Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 16 M.). The author was attached to the Kaiser's suite during the closing months of the struggle, at a time when the outside world supposed everything was in the hands of Ludendorff, and, after his resignation, of Hindenburg. The author insists, however, that all plans were submitted to the Kaiser, and that his choice was decisive, at least when there were alternatives. The book is virtually a defense of William II.

An important addition to the literature of the recent war is the first volume of the memoirs of General Max von Gallwitz, one of the chief German generals, published under the title *Meine Führertätigkeit im Weltkrieg, 1914-1916* (Berlin, Mittler, 1929, pp. 528).

René Gerin's fourteen questions addressed to M. Poincaré have added a fillip to the controversy about the war. For one thing it has called forth an article by Von Jagow in the *Berliner Monatshefte* for July. In the same number Major Gunther Frantz publishes facsimiles of the Russian documents the authenticity of which M. Poincaré questioned in his answer to M. Gerin, entitled, *Les Responsabilités de la Guerre*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gustav Roloff, *Die Begründung des Balkan-Bundes nach den Serbischen, Englischen und Deutschen Akten und Anderen Quellen* (Preussische Jahrbücher, May); Comte Sforza, *L'Homme qui aurait pu Sauver l'Autriche: l'Archiduc François-Ferdinand* (Revue de Paris, May 1); Albert Pingaud, *Études Diplomatiques: l'Entente et la Roumanie, 3 Mai-22 Août 1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: *Thirty Years' Study of a formerly Neglected Century of British History, 1660-1760*, by Clyde L. Grose (Journal of Modern History, Sept.); *British Foreign Policy, 1898-1912*, by R. J. Sontag (*ibid.*).

The dissertation by John Tracy Ellis, on *Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England, 1066-1377* (Washington, the Catholic University of America, 1930, pp. xiv, 137) aims to exhibit the similarity of medieval legislation and the acts passed by Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII. and so to contribute to a clearer comprehension of the break with the papacy in the sixteenth century.

In *Der Streit um das Widerstandsrecht; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Englischen Revolution*, Annemarie Gross discusses the theory of Stuart absolutism and the right of insurrection, illustrating the latter by an account of the attack on the king's "negative voice", the contests for control of the militia and for nomination of the chief crown officers, the ministerial impeachments and the royal trial (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte, no. 70, Berlin, Rothschild, 1929, pp. 127).

Since the publication of Professor Harold Temperley's *Foreign Policy of Canning* in 1925, the papers of A. G. Stapleton, Canning's private secretary, have been opened to his examination. Of these papers the most interesting which remain unpublished are the letters which passed between Lady Canning and Mr. Stapleton, when he was completing his *Political Life of Canning*, printed in 1831. This group of letters Mr. Temperley makes the basis of an article in the July *English Historical Review* entitled Joan Canning on her Husband's Policy and Ideas. Among the other articles in this number are: Elizabeth and the Netherlands, 1586-1587, by Professor J. E. Neale; the Marquis of Abbeville and

his Brothers, by E. S. de Beer; and, in Notes and Documents, the Records of the Keepers of the Peace and their Supervisors, 1307-1327, by Bertha H. Putnam.

In *History* for July, William Miller, under the title of the Greek Centenary discusses the significant changes of the last hundred years as well as the present problems. He incidentally explains that 1830, the year of the London Protocol was chosen as the date to be celebrated rather than the outbreak of the revolt in 1821, because in 1921 "political circumstances were not favourable to a national commemoration". In the same number H. Spencer Toy exhibits the intrigues characteristic of the "rotten borough" system by a particular case, A Patronage Feud in a Pocket Borough: Helston, Cornwall.

The practice of the *Bulletin* of the Historical Institute of chronicling the Migrations of Historical MSS., has in the June number been developed into a new section, listing historical MSS. "which have reached a presumably permanent home in the custody of some public or corporate body". The accessions are to be recorded as follows: (1) the Public Record Office, (2) the five 'copyright' libraries: the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University, National Library of Scotland, National Library of Wales, (3) other university libraries, in alphabetical order, (4) college libraries, (5) places approved by the Master of the Rolls for the deposit of manorial records, and (6) other institutions.

The *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library for July continues the publication of an Arabic text of the Apocalypse of Peter with Dr. A. Mingana's translation. It also gives a Hand-List of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the Library, prepared by Moses Tyson of the staff.

The *Baptist Quarterly*, which publishes the transactions of the Baptist Historical Society of London, gives in the April and July numbers the first installments of an account by Wilfred S. Samuel of the varied religious and intellectual experience of Charles Marie de Veil, who began life at Metz as a Jew, David Weil, and finished it as a Baptist minister, having been in the meantime a Catholic, a canon regular of St. Augustine, prior of Ste. Geneviève, a Huguenot, and an Anglican clergyman.

The fifth and final London volume of the report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, East London* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xlviii, 149, plates 192, maps 2, 17 s. 6 d.), like its predecessor noticed here a year ago (XXXV. 209), deals with ecclesiastical and secular structures of the medieval and modern periods with the terminal date of 1714. In the Concluding Survey are embodied several brief papers. J. W. Bloe discusses Building Materials in Early and Mediæval London. This illustrates the dependence of architecture upon accessible supplies of material. The principal varieties of stone in the case of London were Kentish rag, of which the Tower is chiefly built, Caen, used in the White Tower, and Portland, which Sir Christopher Wren employed so much in

rebuilding after the Great Fire. The commissioners admit that London "as a whole is poor in world-famed monuments of architecture", a statement which the reader will be inclined to accept only with serious qualifications after examining these five volumes. Of course, the commissioners include the Tower among such monuments, ranking it as the "most important fortress in the world with a continuous military occupation". The illustrations of the characteristic features of the Tower number nearly one hundred. Another monument of considerable interest is Eltham Palace, which stands in Woolwich, well beyond the ordinary tourist's route. It was built by the bishop of Durham about 1300. Still another is Morden College, designed by Wren for Sir John Morden "as an asylum for decayed Turkey merchants". Within the twelve boroughs of East London the commissioners have designated seven churches and sixteen secular buildings as monuments "especially worthy of preservation".

Further material upon the reign of James I. has been made available by the publication of a *Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, preserved at Alloa House, Clackmannanshire, edited by the Rev. Henry Paton (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xiv, 334, 7 s. 6 d.). These charters, letters, and other documents were discovered after the first report in 1904 of the Historical Manuscripts Commission upon the manuscripts of this earl. The letters of chief interest fall in the years from 1612 to 1625. They were written to John, Earl of Mar, by his cousin, Thomas, Viscount Fenton, who resided at court.

The three lectures which make up Mr. A. Mawer's *Problems of Place-Name Study* (Cambridge University Press, 1929, pp. 140, 6 s.) originally delivered at King's College, had as their purpose to explain some of the results already reached by the survey undertaken by the English Place-Name Society. Volumes VI. and VII. of that survey, recently published by the same press, deal with the *Place-Names of Sussex*. The first lecture, with the title of Racial Settlement, shows the light which study of this type throws upon the question of the extent to which the Britons survived the invasions of the Angles and Saxons. The second attempts the same service for the Vocabulary of our Forefathers.

Volume VIII. in the series of *Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten*, under the general editorship of Professor Herbert Schöffler, is devoted to *Daniel Defoe, Essay on Projects*, by Ernst Gerhard Jacob (Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1929, pp. 142, 8 M.). Accepting the view of Werner Sombart that this essay is an important source for the study of the beginnings of capitalism, Dr. Jacob seeks first of all to place it in its true historical setting. The second chapter is upon *Das Erfinderzeitalter* (The Projecting Age). Chapter VI. deals with the question of originality. The author regards Defoe as the prophet of many schemes of human betterment which were to be realized decades and even generations after he died.

The student of English society of the period of the great reform bill should find much that is enlightening in the second volume of James Fenimore Cooper's *Gleanings in Europe*, of which *England* is the subtitle. Robert E. Spiller is the editor (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xix, 408, \$3.50). The chapters are in the form of letters. The reader naturally turns first to Letters IX., X., and XI., which describe Earl Grey and his Party, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. Of course Letter VI. on Holland House can not be omitted. It was at Holland House and at Samuel Roger's breakfasts that Cooper met the great figures of the day, including Scott and Coleridge. Cooper was not blind to the defects of the English social order, and on one occasion refers to London as "this huge theatre of vice and misery". In the same connection, further on, he remarks that "the comparison between the condition of the common English house-servant, and that of the American slave, is altogether in favour of the latter, if the hardship of compelled servitude be kept out of view".

The biography of *George V.*, by so practiced a hand as Sir George Arthur (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, \$5.00) will be read with sympathy. Historical controversies will never rage over the policies of the present king as they have over his father's, and his biography is not a record of treaties and coalitions. It is the human story, told with tact and the reserve of a loyal subject toward his monarch. The allusions to international politics are valuable for the evidence they offer of the veil of prejudice through which English officialdom looked upon the European scene before 1914.

The British National Trust for places of historic interest has received the gift of the best example of the Roman forts on Hadrian's Wall, at Housesteads, Northumberland (Borcovicus or Borcovicium) with nearly a mile of the wall, including one of the milecastles. The Trust has also received the gift of Runnymede.

Several hundred portfolios of the letters of William E. Gladstone have been given by the family to the British Museum.

The Royal Historical Society, under the provisions of the David Berry Trust offers a prize, consisting of a gold medal and £30 in money for the best essay on *James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell*. The essays should be sent, before Oct. 31, 1931, to the Secretary of the Royal Historical Society at 22, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

Among the recent publications of the British Historical Association (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1928, 1929) are: *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, no. 18, dealing with publications of the year 1928, in seven sections, compiled by Harold Temperley, Lillian M. Penson, and others; *A Short Bibliography of English Constitutional History*, by Helen M. Cam and A. S. Turberville; *Foreign Historical Novels*, by Harold Temperley; *The English Captivity of James I., King of Scots*, by E. W. M. Balfour-Melville; and *A Select List of Books relating to the History of the British Empire Overseas*, edited by A. P. Newton. The price of each publication is 1 s. 2 d.

Two volumes of interest are: *Calendar of the MSS. of the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House*, pt. xv, edited by M. S. Giuseppi (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 10 s. 6 d.); C. E. Vulliamy, *The Archaeology of Middlesex and London*, with 59 illustrations and two maps (London, Methuen, 10 s. 6 d.).

Two articles of interest: Michael Freund, *Zur Deutung der Utopia des Thomas Morus; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Staatsräson in England* [the conceptions of Utopia reflect social and political conditions in contemporary England; much of it is based on England's insularity] (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLII. 2); Gabriel Le Bras, *Le Sens de la Vie dans l'Histoire du Droit: l'Oeuvre de F. W. Maitland*, (*Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, July 15).

FRANCE

To the series of *Poèmes et Récits de la Vieille France*, edited by Professor Jeanroy of the University of Paris, which throw light upon the moral and intellectual history of medieval France, have been added two small volumes, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, translated by Mme. Myrrha Lot-Borodine, and *Les Quinze Joies du Mariage*, translated by Mme. M. L. Simon, (Paris, pp. xxxi, 158, xxx, 202). The miracle stories belong to the first of the type. The volume on the joys of matrimony comes from the antifeminist literature of the Middle Ages. One does not have to read far to see, as Professor Jeanroy, remarks in his introduction, that we have here an early example of the realistic romance, and that the author excels "dans la peinture ironique et amusée de la vie de tous les jours".

It is not surprising that a strategist like General Max Weygand should be interested in the career of Turenne, but it is surprising that in his biography, entitled *Turenne, Marshal of France*, translated by George B. Ives (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930, pp. 282, \$3.50) he tells so little about the organization of armies or about the art of war as practiced by that great military genius. His volume is chiefly a running account of the many incidents of Turenne's military career.

Two essays upon *Jouffroy et son Temps*, by M. Jean Pommier, of the University of Strasbourg, have been brought together in a small volume (Paris, Alcan, pp. 75). Their titles are *La Fin d'un Penseur* and *Un Scandale Posthume*. They belong to the series issued by the faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Strasbourg.

In reviewing Mme. Madeleine Clemenceau-Jacquemaire's *Vie de Madame Roland*, Mr. Carl Becker wrote in the July number of this journal (XXXV. 854-856), "Of all the lives, this one is the most scholarly and judicious". Fortunately it is now accessible in English, translated by Laurence Vail, *Life of Madame Roland* (New York, Longmans, Green, 1930, pp. 345, \$4.00). The translation is well done, although there are omissions, suggested by the desire to keep the biography within some-

what briefer compass. Occasionally there is an over-simplification of style. For example, when the author remarks apropos of Rousseau's sentimentalities and utopias, "Ses disciples devaient aboutir à la Terreur comme la religion des pauvres et les faibles au tribunal du Saint Office", this is rendered, "All this led his disciples to the 'Terror'". The translator may be pardoned for avoiding the difficulties of a descriptive clause, part of a long sentence on Robespierre's appearance, "l'œil entre-bâillé sur un fond trouble d'où montait un vertige glacé", which is Englished as "a cold eye". The notes are transferred to the end of the book, and many are omitted.

The classic avenue of information concerning the relations between Fersen and the French court is Klinckowström's volume of 1878, which cited only a few passages from the Swedish nobleman's journal. It is the original of this document that serves as the basis of Alma Söderjhelm's *Fersen et Marie-Antoinette; Correspondance et Journal Intime Inédits du Comte Axel de Fersen* (Paris, Éditions Kra, pp. 390). Unfortunately, entries for the years 1776-1791 are lacking, a void which the editor attempts to fill from the correspondence, especially with Fersen's sister Sophie, Countess Piper and with her lover, Taube. From all this, there seems small doubt of the close relations between Fersen and the queen. The book is of interest also for the flight to Varennes, the relations of the court with Mirabeau and later with the Constitutionalists, and for the policy of Gustavus III.

Announcement is made of a new bibliography in eight volumes under the title *La France Révolutionnaire et Impériale; Annales de Bibliographie Méthodique et Description des Livres Illustrés* (Grenoble, Arthaud). This bibliography of illustrated books is the fruit of twenty years' labor by André Monglond in public and private collections and fills an important chronological gap (1789-1815) between Cohen's *Guide* and Vicaire's *Manuel de l'Amateur*. Reproductions of illustrations are by Léon Marotte. History, geography, literature, travel and art are among the fields covered. The initial volume appears in 1930; the remaining seven will be published in as many years.

This year's French national congress of the historical sciences was appropriately held at Algiers. In the opening session Professor Georges Marçais, of the University of Algiers, read a paper upon the great periods in the history of the land of the Berbers during the Middle Ages.

L'Algérie is the title of the second volume of the monumental work on the *Histoire des Colonies Françaises et de l'Expansion de la France dans le Monde*, edited by Mm. Hanotaux and Martineau (Paris, Plon, 100 fr.). The author of this volume is Professor Augustin Bernard, of the University of Paris.

Prompted by the centenary of the event which it describes, *La Dernière Conquête du Roi; Alger, 1830* is written by Prince Sixte de Bourbon from the royalist standpoint, but with a consistent effort at impartiality (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 2 vols.).

It is not new in France for soldiers to write as well as to make history, and it is fortunate that Marshal Pétain has essayed to tell the story of the defense of Verdun (*Verdun*, New York, Dial Press, pp. 235, \$4.00). The translation is by Margaret Mac Veagh. In his preliminary sketch of the military situation at the beginning of February the Marshal does not conceal his surprise that the General Staff were so utterly unaware of the preparations which the Germans were making beyond the Verdun salient. The whole story is told with simplicity and a refreshing absence of rhetoric.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gaston Dodou, *Le Drame Conjugal de Catherine de Médicis* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, Apr.); H. O. Evennett, *Claude d'Espence et son "Discours du Colloque de Poissy"* [textual reproduction of hitherto unpublished document by member of Guise party] (*Revue Historique*, May); Robert de Traz, *Agrippa d'Aubigné, 1551-1630* (*Revue de Paris*, May 15); Marc Bloch, *La Lutte pour l'Individualisme Agraire dans la France du XVIII^e Siècle*, pt. I., *l'Oeuvre des Pouvoirs d'Ancien Régime* [enclosures, right of parours, and other common rights] (*Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, July 15); Ambroise Jobert, *La Diplomatie Française à Gènes à la Fin de 1792* [account of two French diplomatic failures] (*Revue Historique*, May); Alexandre Zévaès, *Le Mouvement Social de 1789 à 1848*, I.-III., to be continued [factory conditions in France, strikes, rise of socialism] (*Nouvelle Revue*, April 15-May 15); Albert Mathiez and René Farge, *Journal de la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Égalité Établie à Bruxelles* (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, March); Léon Cahen, *L'Enrichissement de la France sous la Restauration* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, May); Camille Latreille, *Lamartine en 1848; Documents Inédits* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1); Georges Bourgin, *Aperçu sur l'Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (*Revue Historique*, May); Robert Dreyfus, *M. Thiers devant l'Allemagne, 1872-1873* (*Revue de Paris*, June 1); Henri Austruy, *La Présidence de la Chambre des Députés, 1876-1930*, I., concl. [complete list, accompanied by tables of electoral votes, biographical sketches and key-notes of inaugural addresses] (*Nouvelle Revue*, May 1, 15); Alfred Hérault, *Les Derniers Jours du Cabinet Dufaure* [from memoirs of member of Chamber, 1876-1877], I. (*Revue de Paris*, June 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The first *Bulletin* of volume XCIV. of the Commission Royale d'Histoire, Académie Royale de Belgique, is devoted to a critical edition of a newly discovered chronicle of Valenciennes belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It deals with contemporary history and is of special value, for Valenciennes and Hainaut are poor in contemporary accounts of that period. The editor of the chronicle is M. Étienne Delcambre.

Two books of interest for the history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands are, *Great Britain and the Establishment of the Kingdom of the*

Netherlands, 1813-1815, by G. J. Renier (The Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 360, 10 Gld.), and *Englands Anteil an der Trennung der Niederlande im Jahre 1830*, by Rudolf Steinmetz (The Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 271, 5.60 Gld.).

An article of note: Henri Davignon, *Le Centenaire de l'Indépendance Belge* [sketch of political, economic, social, and cultural development] (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Marc Bloch, *Histoire d'Allemagne. Moyen Age* [concluded] (*Revue Historique*, May).

The *Deutschrechtliche Beiträge*, edited by Konrad Beyerle, which for a generation furnished a valuable sequel to Gierke's investigations in the history of German law and which were unfortunately suspended for some time, have begun to reappear more rapidly. In Band XII., Heft 1, Emil Goldmann dealt with Frankish legal antiquities; in Heft 2 Eugen Wohlhaupter, a student of the editor, presents a discussion of *Hoch- und Niedergericht in der Mittelalterlichen Gerichtsverfassung Bayerns* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1929, pp. 199).

The important contributions which Fritz Rörig has made to Hanseatic history have been brought together in a volume entitled *Hansische Beiträge zur Deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Breslau, Hirt, 1929, pp. 284). The most extended essay concerns the ownership by leading burghers of the market buildings in Lübeck. The author also explains the rôle of the German merchants in the colonization of the lands beyond the Elbe.

An interesting example of sound work in the geography of a highly characterized locality is *Die Bergstrasse: ein Beitrag zur Verkehrs- und Siedlungsgeographie*, by Karl Neuhaus (Frankfort on Main, Knauer, pp. 130). The Bergstrasse is a road which has appropriately given its name to a region between Heidelberg and Darmstadt.

In brief compass, Hajo Holborn has succeeded in giving a remarkably successful picture of *Ulrich von Hutten* and his place as "knight of the idea" in Reformation history (Leipzig, Quelle, 1929, pp. 175). This study, as well as Fritz Walser's *Politische Entwicklung Ulrichs von Hutten während der Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 14; Munich, Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 131) may be regarded as a reaction against the destructive criticism of P. Kalkoff and an effort to rebuild a new, positive estimate of the knight's character and historical importance.

Volumes IX.-X. of the *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, edited by Dr. Josef Kallbrunner (Vienna, Gerold, pp. 156, 8 plates, 1 map) is a memorial of the defense of Vienna in 1529 against Solyman the Magnificent. It includes several essays the longest of which deals with the campaign. Another, by Fritz Dworschak, describes the numismatic memorials of 1529, with a plate reproducing many of them.

The strange fate of Jud Süß, or Joseph Süß Oppenheimer, has been investigated anew by Selma Stern (*Jud Süß*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1929, pp. xi, 346, 7.50 M.), who for the first time has utilized all the material, administrative as well as judicial, in the archives at Stuttgart and in other cities of South Germany. It will be recalled that Süß was virtually chief minister of Karl Alexander of Württemberg and that he trod so ruthlessly on the rights of nobles, guilds, and other semi-medieval organs that soon after Karl's death he was legally done to death. His career gives an opportunity to study the conflict between the absolutist and mercantilist state and the traditional order. The story because of the personality of Süß and his spectacular career, seems to be on the borderland of romance and legend. About half the volume is made up of the documents in the case. There is also a good index.

Haller was not only a poet of considerable reputation, but a celebrated botanist, anatomist and all-round scientist of the old, heroic type. An interpretation of his Pietistic philosophy and scientific position in their relation to eighteenth century thought has been made in a suggestive study by Stephen d'Irsay, entitled *Albrecht von Haller; eine Studie zur Geistesgeschichte der Aufklärung* (Arbeiten des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin an der Universität Leipzig, Bd. I.; Leipzig, Thieme, pp. viii, 104).

A whole array of new sources for the history of the German Parliament of 1848 has been unearthed by Ludwig Bergsträsser through patient inquiry among relatives and descendants of the representatives. The chief value of those now published under the title *Das Frankfurter Parlament in Briefen und Tagebüchern*; Ambrosch, Rümelin, Hallbauer, Blum (Frankfort on Main, Frankf. Soc. Druckerei, 1929, pp. 467) consists in the fact that they concern particularly personalities of the Left, the least-known wing of the parliament, and that they give an excellent impression of the inner workings of the various groups.

It is obviously too soon to expect an authoritative estimate of the career of Germany's great war hero, but a simple, straightforward account of his life will satisfy many legitimate curiosities. Such is the *Biography of President von Hindenburg*, by Rudolph Weterstetten and A. M. K. Watson (New York, Macmillan, pp. 276, \$2.50). The imagination is awed by contemplating the personal experience of a man who began his career at Königgrätz. This biography does not attempt a critical estimate of his work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Oskar Däppen, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Berner Landstädte nach den Fontes Rerum Bernensium* [period covered by the source is 1200-1378, shortly after which these towns come into Bernese possession] (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, XXX. 1); Walter Stietzel, *Die Konsumtionssteuern und der Magdeburger Akzisetarif vom 1 Juni 1725* (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XVIII. 2); Hans Herzfeld, *Bismarck und die Skobelewepisode* [Bismarck's calmness kept the ten-

sion created by the chauvinist, anti-German speeches of this popular Panslavist Russian general in 1882 from developing into a serious crisis] (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLII. 2).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: G. Luzzatto and G. Mondaini, *Rassegna di Storia Economica* [publications of 1927-1929 relating chiefly to Italy] (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, January-April).

The *Rivista Storica Italiana* is now under the control of the Istituto Fascisto di Cultura of Turin, and of the Fascist professors of the university: Francesco Cognasso, as director, Giorgio Falco, and Francesco Lemmi.

Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, the annual publication of the Prussian Historical Institute at Rome, contains in its vol. XXI. the following substantial studies: Wolfram von den Steinen, *Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini*; Hans Hirsch, *St. Gallen und die Visconti*; Otto Vehse, *Die Päpstliche Herrschaft in der Sabina bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*; Carl Erdmann, *Zur Entstehung der Formelsammlung des Marinus von Eboli*; Ludwig Bertalot, *Cincius Romanus und seine Briefe*; Leo Just, *Honthelms Bemühungen um einen Bischofsitz in den Oesterreichischen Niederlanden, 1756-1762*. In addition, there is the report by the director, P. Kehr, of the institute's learned activities for 1928-1929 and brief articles by P. Kehr, C. Erdmann, and G. Tellenbach (Rome; Regenberg, 1929-30, pp. x, 314).

A notable contribution in its field has been made by the monograph of Da Gatteo Padre Luigi on *La Peste a Bologna nel 1630* (Forli, pp. 219).

Professor A. P. Usher has a brief description in the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for July 15 of the classification in process of completion for the important municipal archives of Barcelona. Hitherto no inventory has been published.

Church and State in Visigothic Spain, by Aloysius K. Ziegler, (Washington, the Catholic University of America, pp. xiii, 221) traces the influence of the Church in promoting the transition from an organization essentially tribal to a system of law, politics, and government of an advanced type, especially as compared with the other new nations of Western Europe.

A communication from M. Isobel Munro, Craven Fellow of the University of Oxford, in the *Bollettino dell' Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei* for June brings the unfortunate news that the fourth and last volume of Professor Adolf Schulten's great work, *Numantia*, can not be printed because the ten thousand marks necessary are not in sight.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Bigwood, *Un Marché de Matières Premières: Laines d'Angleterre et Marchands Italiens vers la*

Fin du XIII^e Siècle (Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, 15 Apr.); A. Jeanroy, *Les Troubadours dans les Cours de l'Italie du Nord aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles* (Revue Historique, May); Angelina Lucchini, *Memoriale del Maresciallo Radetzky sulle Condizioni d'Italia al Principio del 1848* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January–April); Arturo Marpicati, *Alessandro Monti e la Legione Italiana in Ungheria nel 1849* (Nuova Antologia, May 1); Giuseppe Tucci, *Del Supposto Architetto del Taj e di Altri Italiani alla Corte dei Mogul* [defense of claims of Jeronimo Veroneo as architect of Taj-Mahal] (*ibid.*).

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of the current historical literature of the Scandinavian countries is prepared annually by Kr. Setterwall and published in (the Swedish) *Historisk Tidskrift*. The lists also contain titles in languages other than Scandinavian.

Frøde Gribsvad in a recent article on Dansk og Tysk Historieforskning efter Krigen Vedrørende Sønderjylland (*Sønderjydske Arbejder*, 1930, 1 and 2) notes the interesting fact that since the war the history of North Schleswig, which for a century was dealt with in the spirit of propaganda, seems to have become a subject for ordinary scientific research.

H. P. Hanssen, who for more than a generation was the political spokesman of the nationalistic movement in North Schleswig, has recently completed the second volume of his work *Fra Kampaaarene* [from the years of conflict] (Copenhagen, 1929). The volume is chiefly a collection of speeches and other documents pertaining to the history of North Schleswig in the period of German control.

The new *Atlas of Finland* (a third edition of the older *Atlas de Finlande*), which has been in preparation since 1922, is chiefly the work of Professor J. Granö, geographer at the University of Åbo (Turku). The text is printed in Swedish, Finnish, and English versions and the new atlas maintains the high standard of excellence which made the older edition one of the finest geographical publications in the North (Helsingfors, 1929).

Of much interest for the student of constitutional practice in the Middle Ages is a recent volume entitled *Trondheimens Forfatningshistorie* by Absalom Taranger. The work deals with the legal and political system of the region about the Trondhjem Fjord and is published in the current report of the Royal Norwegian Scientific Society (*Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, 1929, 5, Trondhjem, 1929).

Professor Benson's book on *The Swedes and the American Revolution* is reviewed and discussed by Harald Elovson in *De Svenska Officerarna i Nordamerikanska Frihetskriget* (*Scandia*, 1929, 2). The discussion adds somewhat to the original account, the author having used materials to which Professor Benson apparently did not have access.

The controversy between Professors Erik Arup and Aage Friis (both of the University of Copenhagen) as to the nature of the political crisis in Denmark in 1863 is continued by Arup in a lengthy article, *Danmarks Krise, 1863*, published in a recent number of *Scandia* (1930, 1).

The current volume of *Islandica*, edited by Halldór Hermannsson, is devoted to the Book of the Icelanders, "the first book which, so far as we know, was penned in the Icelandic language". The volume contains an introductory essay, chiefly of historical content, the *Íslendingabók* in its original text, an English translation of the Book, and a series of critical, explanatory, and bibliographical notes. The work shows thorough and painstaking scholarship and is in every respect a real improvement on the older version of the *Íslendingabók* published by Vigfusson in *Origines Islandicæ* (1905).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Finnur Jónsson, *Íslands Alting* (*Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1930, 4); O. Brandt, *Das Problem des 'Ruhe des Nordens' im 18. Jahrhundert* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, 1929, 3); Johannes Paul, *Schweden und die Baltische Frage* (*Nordische Rundschau*, 1929, 2-3); Lauritz Weibull, *Carl XII's Död* [death of Charles XII.] (*Scandia*, 1929, 2); Halvdan Koht, *Stadfestinga 1458 på Settargjerda i Tunsberg* [confirmation of the agreement (1277) as to canonical elections] (*Historisk Tidsskrift* [Norwegian], 1930, 2).

L. M. L.

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

General review: P. Cloché, *Histoire Grecque* [1927-1929] (*Revue Historique*, May).

The late Ernest Denis's *Histoire de la Bohême* is to be reissued this month by Leroux. The subject of the first volume is *Huss et la Guerre des Hussites*. This is followed by two on *La Fin de l'Indépendance Bohême*, and by two others on *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche*, bringing the history of the country to the opening of the nineteenth century.

A volume of essays on the history of the Slavs and of Eastern Europe was recently offered to Professor Jaroslav Bidlo, of the University of Prague, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. The writers were former students, colleagues, and professional friends. Fortunately, French summaries of the essays appear at the close of the volume.

Professor A. I. Andrews has published in the June issue of the *Slavonic Review* a list of instructors in American colleges and universities who are including in their programs courses in Slavic or Eastern European subjects. He follows this by a list of the institutions and the courses.

Dr. Asad Jibrail Rustum, of the American University of Beirut, has begun an important documentary series, *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali*

Pasha, the first volume of which has recently been published by the American Press of Beirut. The series is to comprise from seven to ten volumes in the general style of the "publications spéciales" of Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypt. The text is in Arabic.

Two articles of interest: F. Clément-Simon, *Une Grande Famille en Europe Centrale au XV^e Siècle; les Comtes de Cilli* [Slovene family] (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLIV. 1); Démétrio Stadi, *Les Fondements Psychologiques du Devenir Néo-Grec* [interpretation of the Greek Risorgimento] (*Mercure de France*, May 1).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following may be noted: correspondence with Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others, and other papers of Thomas Lee Shippen and other members of the Shippen family, eight volumes, 1755-1844; photostats of the records of the Court of Admiralty held in the province of Massachusetts Bay, of many additional letters of George Washington, and of several hundred papers of James McHenry, 1775-1824; journal kept by David R. Williams as governor of South Carolina, 1814-1816; about forty letters written to Guillaume Tell Poussin, envoy of France in 1849; and papers of Daniel Manning, 1883-1906.

The collections of the Library of Congress have also been enriched by the purchase under authority of an Act of Congress of the Vollbehr collection of incunabula, including a copy of the Gutenberg Bible.

Of the series in course of publication by the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington there have been recently issued the *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, vol. I., 1441-1700, by Elizabeth Donnan, professor of Political Economy in Wellesley College, and vol. III. of *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, by Dr. Leo F. Stock, associate professor of American history in the Catholic University of America. This volume carries the record to the end of the reign of George I. (1727). Vol. V. of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by the late Professor Bassett, is going through the press.

Bulletin 95 of the Smithsonian Institution is devoted to *Contributions to Fox Ethnology*, no. 2, by Truman Michelson (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 183). The special subject is a sketch of the Buffalo Dance of the Bear Gens of the Fox Indians, the text written in the current Fox syllabary, with an English translation. *Bulletin* 96, by F. H. H. Roberts, jr., describes *Early Pueblo Ruins in the Piedra District, Southwestern Colorado* (pp. 190).

The *Journal* of the Société des Américanistes à Paris, n. s., vol. XXI., fasc. 2, is devoted especially to studies of Indians and their dialects.

The most curious is a list of Indian words recorded from the recollections of Pierre and Jean Baptiste Talon who had accompanied La Salle on his last, ill-fated expedition.

The April number of *Agricultural History* contains papers on the Economic Efficiency and Competitive Advantages of Slavery under the Plantation System, by Dr. L. C. Gray, and on the History of American Wheat Improvement, by Dr. Carlton R. Ball. Dr. Gray's paper, which is part of a general study of Southern agriculture prior to 1860, now approaching completion, was read at the joint meeting of the Agricultural History Society and the American Historical Association at Durham. Dr. Ball's paper was read before the Agricultural History Society at its meeting in Washington in April.

The *Journal* of the Irish American Historical Society, vol. XXVIII., 1929-1930 (New York, published by the Society, pp. 317) contains besides the records of its proceedings many historical papers of interest in the study of the influence of Ireland upon American life. The first is a diverting discussion of the Scotch-Irish in the War of the Revolution by Michael J. O'Brien, who is the historiographer of the society. Another contribution is a list of passengers from Ireland who reached American ports in 1811. It is worth remarking that of the thirty-seven ships which brought them, twenty-three sailed from Londonderry and Belfast.

The frontier West and its influence on the present American civilization, is the subject of the Colver Lectures delivered at Brown University by Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin, and now published under the title *When the West is Gone* (Henry Holt, pp. 137, \$2.00). In the three lectures, *When the West was New*, *The Middle West*, and *When the West has Gone*, Mr. Paxson points out how the forces of the open frontier with its great expanse of cheap land, and the environment which it created, have shaped the character of the American people and, indeed, the whole history of the United States. Until 1896 the West as typified by such leaders as Jefferson, Clay, Jackson, Lincoln, was successful in its political struggles but by 1896 the West as a frontier was gone and "the unique condition of our American experience reached its end". The final chapter is not only a discussion of the problems arising from the disappearance of the frontier, but a thoughtful expression of a belief in the fineness of the American heritage.

The two volumes of Charles and Mary Beard on the *Rise of American Civilization*, which have won so high a place in contemporary historical writing, have now been republished in a one volume edition (New York, the Macmillan Company, \$4.00) in order to make them available as a college text. The authors believe that the student enters college with a fair background of political history and that he will be stimulated by a treatment which departs from conventional lines.

A book of great utility to that section of the intelligentsia which desires exact information upon the provisions of our fundamental law, and yet dreads to face batteries of footnotes, loaded with cases, decisions, and comparisons, is the *Constitution of the United States*, described in its subtitle as a *Brief and General Commentary*, by William Bennett Munro (New York, Macmillan, pp. 197, \$1.25). Each provision of the Constitution, upon which comment immediately follows, is printed in capitals and so centered on the page as to be readily located. The exposition is always simple, clear, and vigorous, with the minimum of allusion to controversy.

A new volume in the American Social Science series is *The Negro in American Civilization*, by Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University (New York, Henry Holt, pp. xiv, 538, \$4.00). It is the result of carefully engineered coöperative effort, the impelling motive being first to provide points of view and facts for discussion in a National Interracial Conference which was held in December, 1928. Several of the important problems discussed at the conference are presented in the second half of the volume by those who led in the discussions, and a summary of the discussion in each case follows, with the names of those who participated. The first part of the volume is concerned with many other phases of the problem, which were investigated by Professor Johnson himself with the aid of a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Among the topics are: Migration, Interplay of Negro and Immigrant Labor, Problems of Educability, and Juvenile Delinquency.

Dr. Käthe Spiegel, of Prague, who spent the years 1927-1929 in the United States on a Laura Spelman Rockefeller fellowship, has published in the collection of "Gemeinnütziger Vorträge" (Prague) an essay on *Amerikanische Geschichtsprobleme*, which gives an illuminating description of the recent development of historical writing here with the United States as its subject. A second essay by the same author deals with the *Rechtsleben der Amerikanischen Kolonialzeit*.

We have been so accustomed to look at immigration from the point of view of its effects upon American industrial and social life that it is well to recall that the process is also emigration and to study the conditions in the country of its origin which promote or retard the movement. This has been done for one phase of the subject in *The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States*, by John S. Lindberg, sometime Instructor in the University of Stockholm and Fellow of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, pp. xiv, 272, \$2.00).

Brand Whitlock's brief biography, *Abraham Lincoln*, which first appeared in 1909 for the Lincoln centenary has now been republished (New York, Appleton, pp. 211, \$1.50).

In view of the present interest in the problem of crime it is fortunate that Dean Roscoe Pound's lectures on *Criminal Justice in America*, first

delivered seven years ago in Brown University on the Colver foundation have now been published (New York, Holt, pp. xiv, 226, \$2.00). The lecture which will probably be read with the greatest attention is on Criminal Justice in Nineteenth-Century America, for the history of social ills is often their clearest explanation.

The distinguished advocate of German culture in America, Professor Kuno Francke, who died on June 25, had fortunately made in recent days a sketch, not without tragic lines, of his experiences at Harvard University in *Deutsche Arbeit in Amerika* (Leipzig, Felix Meiner, pp. 92, 4 M.). The three chapters deal with his work as a teacher, the Germanic Museum and the initiation of exchange-professorships, and the World War. Now that the fogs of war propaganda no longer choke the intelligence, the sad predicament in which believers in true German culture found themselves after 1914 may be contemplated with greater sympathy.

The *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain*, by Henry G. Hodges, sometime Harrison Fellow in Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania (Boston, Badger Press, pp. 148, \$2.00), covers the affairs which belong to the second Cleveland administration. It is based upon printed material.

The tendency of American college textbooks in history to reduce narrative to a minimum and devote their space to description of conditions is again illustrated in Professor Nelson P. Mead's *Development of the United States since 1865* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, pp. xi, 636, \$3.00). He has divided the whole period into two sections, with the year 1900 as the line of demarcation, except for foreign affairs, where the year 1896 and the events leading up to the Spanish War are chosen for obvious reasons. In each section the social or economic changes are described in successive chapters. The nearest to a narrative appears in the treatment of politics. The tone in which international affairs are discussed is wholesome. Perhaps foreign readers will wonder why in the brief description of the campaign of 1918 a paragraph could not be found to tell what the British and French troops accomplished.

An article of note: L. de Contenson, *Deux Documents sur la Guerre d'Amérique* [letter by Baron de Verton to Comte de Ségur in 1826, describing work of French artillery at siege of Yorktown, 1781; extracts from journal of M. de Saint-Simon, relative to Admiral de Grasse and the Battle of the Saints, 1782] (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLIV. 1).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The opening article in the *New England Quarterly* for July, entitled New England in the Seventeen-Thirties, by H. B. Parkes, presents one of those cross-sections of the historical process which are so provocative of reflection. Even the "flaming youth" of the present day might not

find Puritan young people so backward after reading this article. Another article of value for the period prior to the Revolution is the Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act by Frederick B. Wiener. E. Wilder Spaulding contributes a chapter to the history of journalism in his account of the *Connecticut Courant*. Interesting for the early relations with China is Ping Chia Kuo's article on Canton and Salem.

Mr. Charles E. L. Wingate has ready for publication the *Life and Letters of Paine Wingate*, member of the Continental Congress and senator from New Hampshire. The work is to be published in a limited edition (\$10 per copy) and issued to subscribers only (Mercury Printing Company, Medford, Massachusetts).

The principal article in the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society (n. s., vol. I., no. 2,) is entitled Vermont at Gettysburg, an address delivered before the society on July 6, 1870, by George H. Scott. In addition there is an account by John Clement of the Naming of Vermont in 1763, with a map of Killington and Rutland, dated 1774.

Vol. XV., nos. 3, 4 (Apr., July) of Smith College Studies in History is entitled *The History of Tobacco Production in the Connecticut Valley*, and the author is Elizabeth Ramsey.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The pages of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for May are chiefly devoted to an account, by Raphael A. Weed, of the New York Stage in Photography.

Among the contents of the July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are an article by Louis P. de Boer on the Van Santvoord Family in the Netherlands and America, and one by John R. Totten on Barent Jansen Van Tilburg. The same author's compilation of records of the Grevenraedt Family is concluded.

The June number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library reports among the manuscript accessions a collection of papers relating to the introduction of printing into South America, and a Work Book of the printing house of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, 1759-1766, the gift of Mr. Edward S. Harkness. This book is described in the August *Bulletin* by George Simpson Eddy. In the July and August numbers are pts. III. and IV. of Manhattan Maps.

Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, 1682-1688, by John H. Kennedy, (Washington, the Catholic University of America, pp. ix, 131) is an attempt to give this colonial personage a more adequate treatment than he has hitherto received.

It the *Origin and History of the New York Employing Printers' Association* (New York, Columbia University Press), Miss Charlotte E. Morgan, of Hunter College, has given a somewhat broader account than the title implies. Her narrative opens with the picturesque figure of William Bradford who in 1693 became official printer in New York.

When we reach the beginnings of the machine age, it appears that the journeymen were the first to organize. Their employers were content to make temporary arrangements for common action until 1862, when the Typothetae began their organization.

Two of the articles in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for July are: Proposed Early Ship Canals across Newark Meadows, by Edward S. Rankin, and a brief account, by William H. Richardson, of Washington's projected enterprise against New York in November, 1780.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July publishes the address of John Frederick Lewis at the dedication of the statue of John Marshall in Philadelphia on January 7. Richard S. Rodney deals with the Early Relations of Delaware and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Henry J. Canbury contributes to the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association, spring number, some notes concerning Anthony Benezet and Barbé-Marbois.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for March opens with the Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann, covering his missionary work in a territory which includes the present dioceses of Philadelphia, Wilmington, Harrisburg, Scranton, and much of Altoona. Another article continues the history of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis up to 1928.

In the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, using the title By Invitation of Mrs. Wilkinson: an Incident of Life at Fort Fayette, relates the story of a dinner given by Mrs. James Wilkinson at "the Garrison" in honor of the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President. Much of the article pertains to General Wilkinson and his wife, the former Anne Biddle. Among the other articles are one by John W. Oliver on Pittsburgh's Awakening One Hundred Years Ago, and one by Fleming Nevin on the Liquor Question in Colonial and Revolutionary War Periods.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July is devoted chiefly to literary history, with articles on Wesley, Shelley, and Leigh Hunt. On the political side is an article by Eugene E. Rovillain, of the University of Michigan, on Mexico, an Analysis and a Constructive Suggestion, which will be read with some surprise because of its panegyric on Porfirio Díaz. The writer's conclusions are based upon an historical interpretation of Mexico's abiding characteristics.

Mr. DeCourcy W. Thom contributes to the June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* an article entitled Something more of the Great Confederate General, Stonewall Jackson, and one of his Humble Followers in the South of Yesteryear. The "Humble Follower" was Joseph Pembroke Thom, father of the author, and the article principally

concerns a duel during the Mexican War in which Jackson and the author's father were the seconds. Percy G. Skirven deals with Durham County: Lord Baltimore's Attempt at Settlement of his lands on the Delaware Bay, 1670-1685.

The *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library, vol. XVII., no. 4, is a *Check-List of Virginia State Publications*, 1928, being the third annual check-list of such documents. It is edited by Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, State Librarian.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by Charles E. Kemper on the Valley of Virginia, 1765-1782, and the conclusion of Edgar E. Hume's account of the Virginia branch of the Humes of Wedderburn. The present installment consists largely of letters from members of the Hume family, 1740-1758.

The July number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* has an article by C. Clowes Chorley, D.D., on the Planting of the Church in Virginia, and some recently discovered documents pertaining to the college. These include an account by James Blair of the college business (1691-1693), a statement by Mongo Ingles (1705), and a fragmentary account by Governor Nicholson.

Dr. Lyon G. Tyler begins in the July number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* the publication of a history of the Old Virginia Line in the Middle States during the American Revolution.

Mr. Landon C. Bell, author of *The Old Free State*, has brought out through the William Byrd Press of Richmond *Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1816* (pp. 633). The history of the parish is related in 165 pages, somewhat more than one-third of them being devoted to two of the ministers, Rev. James Craig and Rev. John Cameron. There follow genealogical notes, Rev. John Cameron's registers of marriages, baptisms, and funerals (1784-1815), and the Vestry Book, 1746-1816. The index lists the names as found, with their variant spellings. Mr. Bell has made a very valuable contribution to the history of the church in Virginia.

Among the recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission are: 332 letters, military papers, and addresses of Lieutenant General Daniel H. Hill; 484 letters and papers of the Michaux-Randolph Papers, 1745-1902; 600 volumes of North Carolina county records; photostats of North Carolina material in the Draper Collection and in that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and photostats of twenty-five Dobbs manuscripts in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, chiefly correspondence of Governor Arthur Dobbs.

In the July number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Charles P. Loomis describes the Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union (1902-1928); R. H. Woody treats Some Aspects of the Economic

Condition of South Carolina after the Civil War; and Edgar W. Knight, contributes some notes on John Chavis, a negro preacher and teacher in Virginia and North Carolina in the early nineteenth century.

The July number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, a first installment of the letters of Peter Manigault (1731-1773), edited by Mabel L. Webber, and Inscriptions from the Churchyard of Prince George, Winyah, contributed by Louise Johnson and Julia Rosa.

The *Florida Library Bulletin* for April includes a Preliminary Check List of Floridiana, 1500-1865, in the Libraries of Florida, compiled by Pattie Frost.

The contents of the July number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* include the documents pertaining to a criminal trial before the Superior Council of Louisiana in May, 1747, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; an account, by Manie W. Johnson, of the Colfax Riot of April, 1873; the fifth installment of James K. Greer's study of Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861; and some reminiscences of Reconstruction days by Lucy P. Scarborough.

The Baptists of Tennessee, vol. I. (Southern Publishers, Inc., Kingsport, Tennessee), is a very small volume in two parts. Part I. is an address by Judge Samuel C. Williams, author of *The Lost State of Franklin*, etc., on Tidence Lane, Tennessee's First Pastor, part II. a history, by Rev. S. W. Tindell, of Tennessee's First Church, Buffalo Ridge.

W. C. Holden contributes to the July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* an article on the Problem of Maintaining the Solid Range on the Spur Ranch, "a restricted study of the losing fight of the ranchman on the Texas Plains against the irresistible encroachment of the 'nester'". The study pertains to the Spur and Matador ranches in Dickens and Motley counties, Texas, in the period of 1898 to 1905. The same number contains the first installment of a journal of a trip through Texas and northern Mexico in 1846-1847, kept by William A. McClintock, a volunteer in the second Kentucky regiment, and recording a part of his journey from Kentucky to Monterrey to serve in the Mexican War.

An interesting phase of the Know-Nothing movement in the United States is the subject of *Political Nativism in Texas, 1825-1860*, by Sister Paul of the Cross McGrath, M. A. (Washington, the Catholic University of America, 1930, pp. viii, 209).

WESTERN STATES

In the account of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association given in the July number of this journal the interesting fact should have been noted that Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was elected president. The

Association is making a special effort to increase its membership, Dr. Joseph Schafer being chairman of the committee in charge.

The articles in the July number of *Mid-America* are: the Martyrs of New France, by Georges Rigault; the Winnebago Mission: a Cause Célèbre, by M. M. Hoffman; and a sketch of Senator Thomas Henry Carter (1845-1911), by Laurence P. McHattie.

The *Filson Club History Quarterly* for July has two articles pertaining to the history of Louisville, one by Carl Bernhardt on Certain Phases of the Origin of Louisville, and one by A. J. Webster on Louisville in the Eighteen-Fifties.

Dr. Willard Rouse Jillson has brought together a group of fifteen studies and narratives in early Kentucky history, to which he has given the title *Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (Louisville, C. T. Dearing Printing Company). These papers several of which have not hitherto been printed, relate chiefly to phases and episodes in Kentucky's beginnings, including some original journals and narratives.

As a consequence of action taken last February at the Ohio History Conference, made up of representatives of local historical societies and of departments of history in colleges and universities, a Committee on Coöperation, meeting on July 12, decided that the following projects should be carried out under the direction of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: a check-list of Ohio newspapers, a calendar of unpublished manuscripts bearing on Ohio history in libraries outside the state, and a coöperative history of the state, to be known as *A Sesqui-centennial History of Ohio*. The committee also urged that libraries of the state which possess manuscripts bearing on Ohio history should prepare calendars of them.

Among the articles in the *Michigan History Magazine*, summer number: Mackinac Island under French, English, and American, by Hazel F. Schermerhorn; Reminiscences of the Lumber Camp, by A. S. Draper; and a reprint of the late Clarence W. Alvord's paper on the Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards.

The topic in the May number of the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* is entitled Two Girls of Old Detroit and embodies the reminiscences of Mary A. Brevoort Bristol and Electa B. Sheldon-Stewart of the period 1812-1830.

The Indiana Historical Bureau, on July 23, published volume III. of *Constitution Making in Indiana*, by Charles Kettleborough, director of the Legislative Bureau. This book gives all the official documents between 1916-1930 connected with amendments and proposed amendments to the Indiana Constitution of 1851, and with attempts to secure a constitutional convention, also an appendix giving all the amendments proposed to the Constitution of 1851 from its adoption. It shows 400 amendments officially proposed and only 9 adopted. The reason why amendments, many of them intended to remove antiquated features of

the constitution have failed, is the requirement that each shall have received a majority of the aggregate vote cast at the election at which the particular amendment is submitted.

The Indiana Historical Society, on December 11 of this year, will observe the one hundredth anniversary of its founding. Among the plans adopted is the publication of a centennial handbook containing a history of the Society, written by Dr. James A. Woodburn.

In the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* Richard A. Tilden offers an estimate of Albert J. Beveridge: Biographer; Robert A. Woods relates the history of Presbyterianism in Princeton, Indiana, 1810-1930; Stephen S. Visser discusses the Distribution of the Birth-places of Indianians in 1870; and Earl E. McDonald writes briefly on the Disposal of Slaves by Will in Knox County, Indiana.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for April contains the Proceedings of the eleventh annual Indiana History Conference, December 13-14, 1929. Several of the papers read at the conference have appeared in the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Another paper of general interest discusses the Contribution of the Southern States to the Settlement of Indiana.

The January number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society contains articles by Josephine C. Chandler on New Salem: an Early Chapter in Lincoln's Life, and by Earl W. Wiley on Lincoln in the Campaign of 1856. In the April number is a study, by E. L. Kimball, of the record of Richard Yates as Civil War Governor of Illinois. Douglas the Loyal, a hitherto unpublished manuscript of James Pollock is also included, with an introduction by Esther C. Cushman.

In the June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* J. H. A. Lacher relates the significant facts in the life story of Francis A. Hoffmann (1822-1903), German immigrant to Illinois, where he had an active career as teacher, preacher, legislator, and business man, and latterly, having removed to Wisconsin, won distinction as an agricultural writer over the name of "Hans Buschbauer". His granddaughter, Mrs. Minna F. H. Nehrling, in *Memoirs of Riverside Farm*, gives some account of the family life in Wisconsin. H. J. Desmond contributes some records of Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee, and Francis Magyar the History of the Early Milwaukee German Theatre (1850-1868). In the section of Documents is a letter from some Welsh immigrants (1847).

Among the accessions to the manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are six letters of Zachary Taylor written in 1835 while commandant at Fort Crawford and many papers relating to Judge Byron Paine, chief exponent in Wisconsin, prior to the Civil War, of the doctrine of State Rights and Nullification. The society has just published the *Calendar of Tennessee and King's Mountain Papers* in the Draper Collection. It has in press *California Letters of Lucius Fairchild*, a "Forty-niner", edited by Joseph Schafer, and elaborately illustrated with sketches of scenes on the trail in 1849.

Volume III., no. 4, of the *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee is an illustrated monograph by W. C. McKern setting forth the result of a study by himself and assistants of *The Keltzien and Nitschke Mound Groups*, situated in Sheboygan and Dodge counties, Wisconsin.

The June number of *Minnesota History* has an article on the Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, by William J. Petersen, and reprints from the *Minnesotian* of 1853, with an introduction by Willoughby M. Babcock, an account, presumably by the editor of that paper, of a journey up the Minnesota Valley to Fort Ridgely.

The two handsome volumes on *Municipal Government and Administration in Iowa*, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, pp. vii, 608; xi, 668) form volumes V. and VI. of the series called Applied History. They are made up of twenty-two monographs on topics such as the Legal Status of Municipalities, the City Manager, and the Municipal Administration* of Public Utilities. These monographs are contributed by half as many authors whose work has been coördinated by Ruth A. Gallaher, who herself prepared eight. Although figures never lie, statistics are often puzzling. For example, the arrests in Sioux City for the sale of intoxicating liquor, during the year Apr. 1, 1926-Mar. 31, 1927, were four, but the arrests for intoxication were 2529! It is significant of a tendency in modern cities that the longest monograph is on the Administration of Municipal Finances.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are a study by A. P. Nasatir of "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country, 1797-1798, and the second installment of the Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick (February-August, 1862), edited by M. H. Guyer.

The June number of the *Palimpsest* has an article by C. R. F. Smith on the Iowa Homestead, and two, by A. T. Thompson and Peter Ainsworth respectively, on the Wallace and Meredith farm publications. The July number is devoted to agricultural history, including articles by H. A. Wallace on the Civilization of Corn, John A. Hopkins, jr., on the Passing of the Herds, H. D. Hughes on the Coming of the Legumes, and D. R. Murphy on the development of the hog industry in Iowa.

In the July number of the *Annals of Iowa* Mrs. Abbie Mott Benedict tells the story of her early days in Iowa, and Professor F. I. Herriott concludes his Appreciation of August P. Richter, editor of *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, Iowa), 1884-1913.

The University of Missouri *Studies*, IV., nos. 3 and 4 (July and October, 1929), is a reprint of Some Political Writings of James Otis, collected, with an introduction, by Professor Charles F. Mullett. Professor Mullett asserts that Otis is "one of the most talked about and least read leaders of the American revolutionary period".

In the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review* Theodore C. Atchison, giving some account of the life of David R. Atchison, takes the ground that Atchison was, in fact, "President of the United States during Sunday, March 4th, 1849". In the same issue are two documentary articles, namely: an Account of Spanish Louisiana, embodied in a letter from Miro to Rengel, Dec. 12, 1785, translated and edited by A. P. Nasatir; and Selling Missouri Mules down South in 1835, being some letters from Nathaniel Leonard to his brother.

The operation of geographical influences in American local history, while not an unworked field, deserves still greater attention. For this reason is especially welcome the study entitled *The Influence of Environment on the Settlement of Missouri*, by James F. Ellis, Ph. D. (St. Louis, Webster Publishing Company, 1929, pp. 180). After a preliminary chapter explaining Environmental Factors and Influences, the author describes the effects noted in each of six successive periods of Missouri history, beginning with the first French settlements.

The June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* includes an account, by John B. Davis, of the Life and Work of Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, and a continuation of Ohland Morton's study of the Government of the Creek Indians.

Among the articles in the May number of the *Colorado Magazine* are: the Founding of Durango, Colorado, by Mary C. Ayres; Fraeb's Last Fight and how Battle Creek got its name, by LeRoy R. Hafen; and Frontier Firearms, by Chauncey Thomas. In the July number are: Antoine Robidoux, Kingpin in the Colorado River Fur Trade, 1824-1844, by Joseph J. Hill; Life at Camp Weld and Fort Lyon in 1861-1862; an extract from the diary of Mrs. Byron N. Sanford, edited by Albert B. Sanford; and the Tyler Rangers, the Black Hawk Company, and the Indian Uprising of 1864, by James F. Willard.

The July number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains, among other articles, the concluding part of John P. Clum's paper entitled Apache Misrule; part II. (1542-1581) of Bandelier's Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos; and the recollections of three Confederates respecting some aspects of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico.

The recently organized Quivira Society has issued as its initial publication the *Relation of the Espejo Expedition to New Mexico in 1582-1583*, from the records of Diego Perez de Luxan, translated by Dr. George P. Hammond, managing editor of the society, and Dr. Agapito Rey, of Indiana University. It is the plan of the society to publish two volumes each year.

The California *History Nugget* for May, 1929, contains an account of the *Flying Cloud* and the California Skipper Fleet and a sketch of Josiah Gregg, author of *Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader*.

Among the articles in the June number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: the Centennial of the Covered Wagon, by Albert Hawkins; the Woolen Mills of Brownsville, 1860-1889, by Alfred L. Lomax; and the second installments of James D. Miller's Pioneer Narrative and Elsie F. Dennis's study of Indian Slavery in the Pacific Northwest.

In the July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Joseph Ellison writes of the Covered Wagon Centennial, F. W. Howay of the Attempt to Capture the Brig *Otter*, and W. M. Underhill of the Historic Bread Riot in Virginia City (1865).

Three important papers read at the Captain Cook Sesquicentennial Celebration at Honolulu two years ago have now been published by the Sesquicentennial Commission and the Archives of Hawaii Commission under the title *Hawaii, Early Relations with England, Russia, France*. The papers were presented by Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. Frank A. Golder, and Mr. George Verne Blue. A foreword has been written by Albert Pierce Taylor, librarian of the Archives of Hawaii. No. 16 of the *Papers* of the Hawaiian Historical Society is composed of the papers read at the meeting of last October. One of these was a re-reading of a paper on the Hui Kawaihau presented at a meeting in 1916 by Charles S. Dole. Mr. Albert Pierce Taylor deals with the Intrigues, Conspiracies, and Accomplishments in the Era of Kamehameha IV. and V. The thirty-eighth annual *Report* also contains several papers of considerable interest, including Early Years of the Hawaiian Legislature, by Thomas Marshall Spaulding, and an Interesting Hawaiian in Old Oregon, by J. Neilson Barry.

CANADA

The *Eighteenth Report* (1929 pp. 206) of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, by Alexander Fraser, contains for the most part original documents concerning the peopling of the Province of Upper Canada, 1792-1796, covering the administration of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe.

Vol. VI. of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* has the subtitle of *Canada and Newfoundland*.

Soon after the beatification of the eight Jesuit missionaries who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Iroquois, anticipating that they would be canonized, P. Henri Fouqueray, S. J., undertook once more the narrative of their saintly and heroic lives. The book which he did not live to complete was finished by Alain de Becdelièvre. Its title is *Martyrs du Canada* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, pp. 354, 15 fr.). It is based upon a careful examination of the documents, and it tells the story sympathetically and with skill.

The case of Father Le Loutre, missionary to the Micmacs and vicar-general of Acadia, is reexamined in the *Canadian Historical Review* for June, by Mr. Norman McL. Rogers, who finds Parkman's strictures too severe. Mr. Rogers believes that the sudden attack of the abbé on Anna-

polis Royal is at least explicable. It was a question of obeying the explicit orders he had received from Louisbourg or being governed by the obligations which the courtesy of Mascarene, the English governor, had extended to him. Two other articles in the July number give an account of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association and of the session in England of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

For the study of the economic history of French Canada it is well to read the detailed review which M. Léon Vignols has made of the work of Paul Émile Renaud, *Les Origines Économiques du Canada* (Mamers, 1928, pp. 488), and which, published first in the *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, has now been issued separately (Paris, Marcel Rivière, 1929, pp. 76). The review is a detailed analysis, with indications of other aspects of the problem. One defect of method, M. Vignols finds, is the lack of a clear chronological frame work.

Of great interest to students of the career of General Wolfe is *Wolfe and the Artists: a Study of his Portraiture*, by J. Clarence Webster (Toronto, the Ryerson Press, pp. 74, plates 29). The author was fortunate enough to become the possessor in 1924 of a hitherto unknown portrait, which he dates in the winter of 1758-1759. This, painted from life, he reproduces in color as the frontispiece. There are many well-known portraits which were made after the death of Wolfe. The familiar scene of Wolfe's death on the Plains of Abraham as depicted by West is analyzed by the author and its imaginary elements pointed out. Of these perhaps the most curious is the Indian seated in the foreground, because there was not, the author tells us, a single Indian with the British forces.

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

In the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for August, the title of the first article, Diplomatic Futility, awakens a curiosity which the contents do not disappoint. Although the world has been full of this phenomenon, the particular examples are drawn from the relations of the United States to the inchoate republic of Central America. We are told how one diplomatic agent after another either failed to reach his destination, three dying *en route*, or accomplished nothing after his arrival. The period dealt with is from 1824 to 1849. Two other articles by J. Fred Rippy and Salvador Mendoza, treat the new Mexican Penal Code. Still another, by Clyde L. Grose, discusses the Anglo-Portuguese Marriage of 1662. In the Bibliographical section are documents relating to the publication of the *Memorias Históricas* of Rafael Anténez y Acevedo, contributed by Arthur P. Whitaker, and a description of the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress by Mabel M. Manning.

Vol. VII. of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América* that is being published by the Spanish-Cuban Institute of History at Seville is an installment of an index of the Cuban

documents contained in the Archivo General de Indias. Vol X. of the same series is an installment of an index of the documents in the American division of the Archivo de Protocolos at Seville.

Joaquín Llaverías has written a study entitled *Los Periódicos de Martí* (Havana, Pérez Sierra and Co., 1929).

Nos. 1-6 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Cuba prints a study of the periodical press in Cuba as well as some documents concerning the revolution of 1835 in Venezuela.

Among the recent publications of the Academy of History of Cuba are the following studies: *La Misión Diplomática de Enrique Piñeyro*, by Dr. A. Iraizoz y de Villar; *Periodismo y Periódicos Espirituanos*, by Manuel Martínez-Moles; *Hombres de 51*, by J. Juárez Cano; and *La Civilización Taína en Pinar del Río*, by Dr. P. García Valdés. The same society is also publishing the *Actas de las Asambleas de Representantes y de Consejo de Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia*.

No. 48 of the *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela reprints an article from the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* by Benjamín Oviedo Martínez concerning the mysterious Lautaro Lodge. It prints inedited letters of Andrés Bello and General J. M. Córdoba as well as the wills of the grandparents of General Francisco de Miranda. No. 49 of this bulletin contains a documented article by Vicente Lecuna concerning Bolívar in 1814, and an article by Fr. Pedro Leturia on the ecclesiastical annals of Venezuela. It also contains an installment of the diary of Francisco de Miranda's European tour, and an installment of documents concerning the colonial history of Venezuela.

No. 33 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, which is entitled *El Empréstito de México á Colombia*, is a collection of documents concerning a loan made by Mexico to Colombia in 1826, with introduction and notes furnished by J. Ramírez Cabañas.

No. 207 of the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, the organ of the Colombian Academy of History, contains a documented article by Pablo Lozano y Lozano concerning Bolívar, the Congress of Panama, and American solidarity. In no. 208 is an article by Manuel J. Forero on the last cacique of Bacatá, and also extracts from the inedited papers of the audiencia of Santa Fé de Bogotá, 1595-1598.

J. M. Henao and G. Arrubla have recently brought up to date their *Historia de Colombia para la Enseñanza Secundaria* in two volumes, paged continuously—the best, brief history of that country (Bogotá, Camacho Roldan and Co., 1929, pp. 811).

No. 68 of volume LXIV. of the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* gives an installment of the *Memorias políticas, 1865-67* of Domingo Santa María, and a bibliography of Pedro de Valdivia by Victor M. Chiappa. The National Library of Chile is publishing a *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena*, which supplements the *Bibliografía de*

Bibliografías Chilenas published by Ramón A. Laval in 1915. The first number of the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* for 1930 contains an article by Julio Alemparte R. on the cabildo of Santiago in the sixteenth century and another by Domingo Amunátegui Solar on the cabildo of Concepción (1872-1818).

In commemoration of Francisco Laprida, the president of the Congress of Tucumán, which adopted a Declaration of Independence for the United Provinces of La Plata on July 9, 1916, Dr. J. Francisco V. Silva has published an illustrated booklet entitled *Centenario de Laprida*, that contains a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence, manifestos of the Congress, and some letters of Laprida (Córdoba, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1929).

In no. 43-44 of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of the University of Buenos Aires are the following articles: *La Infancia y Juventud de Velez Sarsfield*, by A. Cháneton; *Lista de Libros Embarcados para Buenos Aires en los Siglos XVII. y XVIII.*, by J. Torre Revello; and *El Testamento de Domingo Martínez de Irala*, by E. de Gandia. It also contains two articles by J. Torre Revello: *El Plano Original de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires levantado por el Ingeniero Eustaquio Giannini en 1805*; and *La Crónica de la Primera Proclamación real Celebrada en Buenos Aires en 1600*. Nos. 28 and 29 of *La Revista de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales* contains an article by Juan A. González Calderón concerning *Las Bases Necesarias y Permanentes de la Constitución*.

No. 97 of the *Revista da Academia Brasileira de Letras* gives the first installment of a history of that academy.

In *Die Revolution von Saint Domingue* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, De Gruyter, pp. x, 209, 14 M.) Erwin Rüsich seeks to reinterpret the crisis in the great sugar colony, studying it not as an incident in the French Revolution but as a movement with causes on the island itself. The author relies on printed material. As might be expected Toussaint Louverture occupies the center of the stage. The final episode is the war for independence closing with the constitution of May 20, 1805.

W. S. R.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by: A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, Charles Breasted, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, T. R. S. Broughton, of Bryn Mawr College, Edmund C. Burnett, of the Division of Historical Research, the Carnegie Institution, Eugene N. Curtis, of Goucher College, J. F. Jameson, of the Library of Congress, H. H. F. Jayne, of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Laurence M. Larson, of the University of Illinois, and William S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois.

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Beale, <i>The Critical Year</i> , by Charles R. Lingley	171
Morison, <i>The Development of Harvard University</i> , by M. A. DeWolfe Howe	173
Gay and Fisher, <i>Public Relations of the Commission for Relief in Belgium</i> , by Ernest P. Bicknell	175
Innis, <i>The Fur Trade in Canada</i> , by Lawrence J. Burpee	177
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Worcester, <i>The Philippines, Past and Present</i> , and Forbes, <i>The Philippine Islands</i> , by James A. Robertson	180

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Martins, <i>A History of Iberian Civilization</i> , by Frederic Duncalf	183
Beeson, <i>Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic</i> , by J. W. T.	184
Dopsch, <i>Naturalkwirtschaft und Geldwirtschaft in der Weltgeschichte</i>	185
<i>Texte zur Geschichte des Römischen und Kanonischen Rechts</i> , by Francis S. Betten	185
Brandt, <i>Schaffende Arbeit</i> , by Walter Woodburn Hyde	186
Habicht, <i>Der Niedersächsische Kunstkreis</i> , by Harold N. Fowler	187
Bagnani, <i>Rome and the Papacy</i> , by Francis A. Christie	188
Steuart, <i>Memoirs of Sir James Melville</i> , by Harold Hulme	189
Hauser, <i>La Modernité du XVI^e Siècle</i> , by Preserved Smith	190
Schermerhorn, <i>Malta of the Knights</i> , by Walther I. Brandt	191
Boxer, <i>The Journal of Maarten Harpertzoon Tromp</i> , by Robert G. Albion	192
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Oldenburg, <i>Aus Bismarcks Bundesrat</i> , by Joseph V. Fuller	197
Nowak, <i>Das Dritte Deutsche Kaiserreich</i> , by M. H. Cochran	198
Sarter, <i>Die Deutschen Eisenbahnen im Kriege</i> , by Victor S. Clark	199
Sforza, <i>Makers of Modern Europe</i> , by F. Lee Benns	200
Bryant, <i>Olden Times in Zululand and Natal</i> , by Frank J. Klingberg	201
Piquet, <i>L'Algérie Française</i> , by Sherman Kent	202
Wilbur, ed., <i>Ravenau de Lussan</i> , by Arthur P. Whitaker	203
Rose-Troup, <i>The Massachusetts Bay Company</i> , by V. W. Crane	204
<i>The Founding of Massachusetts: a Selection from the Sources, and Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> , by J. F. J.	205
Curtis, <i>Anne Hutchinson</i> , by V. W. Crane	205
Sly, <i>Town Government in Massachusetts</i> , by V. W. C.	206
Howard, <i>Seth Harding</i> , by Charles O. Paullin	207
Sipe, <i>The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania</i> , by Julian P. Boyd	208
Bender, <i>Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature</i> , by Jacob C. Meyer	209
Rosewater, <i>History of Coöperative News-Gathering</i> , by Willard G. Bleyer	209
Kilpin, <i>The Romance of a Colonial Parliament</i> , by Annie H. Abel-Henderson	210
Cady, <i>Foreign Intervention in the Rio de la Plata</i> , by William S. Robertson	211
Box, <i>The Origins of the Paraguayan War</i> , by Mary W. Williams	212
Condliffe, ed., <i>Problems of the Pacific</i> , by P. J. T.	213

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